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The Forces of War and the Forces of Peace

THE menacing clouds of world war are gathering over the world in an ever-growing degree. The fascist buzzards are circling around in anticipation of rich and bloody booty.

The war of the rebel generals and of the German and Italian interventionists against the heroic Spanish people has been going on already for over a year in the extreme west of Europe, in Spain. And at another point, in the Far East, the flames of war are also shooting up. At the same time a number of facts go to show that the war both in Spain and in China has the tendency to spread to other countries as well. Almost every day the people throughout the world learn of new monstrous acts of provocation, as, for instance, the pirate acts of Italian fascism directed against merchant navigation in the Mediterranean Sea, the blockade of the coast of China, etc.

As far back as March, 1936, Comrade Stalin, in a talk with Roy Howard, representative of the American press, spoke in the following words of two focal points of the war danger:

"The first is in the Far East, in the zone of Japan. I have in mind the numerous statements made by Japanese military men containing threats against other powers. The second . . . is in the zone of Germany." *

This was said before General Franco, the hireling of Hitler and Mussolini, raised his revolt against the lawful government of Spain; before Germany and Italy began to dispatch their interventionist troops to Spain; before the Japanese militarists undertook their offensive on Northern China.

At the same time, however, Comrade Stalin also spoke in the following words about the friends of peace, about strengthening their positions:

"The friends of peace can work openly. They rely on the power of public opinion. They have at their command instruments like the League of Nations, for example. This is where the friends of peace have the advantage. Their strength lies in the fact that their activities against war are backed by the will of the broad masses of the people. There is not a people in the world that wants war. As for the enemies of peace, they are compelled to work secretly. This is where the enemies of peace are at a disadvantage. Incidentally, it is not precluded that precisely because of this they may decide upon a military adventure as an act of desperation." *

How these splendid, truly prophetic words of Comrade Stalin help us to understand the present situation!

War has not been declared, but it is being waged on two continents. Profiting by their immunity, the aggressors are extending in an ever-growing degree the scale of their bloody adventures. Who are these aggressors? What are the *forces of war* which are now menacing the whole of mankind?

First, German fascism, which is arming at a ferocious speed. Together with Italian fascism it is already waging war

* *The Stalin-Howard Interview*, p. 5, International Publishers, New York. 2 cents.

* *Ibid.*

against the Spanish people, paving the way for an attack on Czechoslovakia, preparing to engulf Austria and Alsace-Lorraine, and threatening the border districts of Denmark. German fascism is also preparing for a big war against France and the Soviet Union and against other peaceful peoples of Europe.

Second, fascist Italy, which has already seized Ethiopia and the Balearic Islands. Its army and aviation are waging war against Republican Spain; together with the armed forces of German fascism it now hopes with the tolerance of the ruling classes of Great Britain to transform the Mediterranean Sea into its own internal sea.

The third force, finally, is Japanese imperialism, which is continuing its traditional policy, begun in 1895, of seizing China. The Japanese imperialists have already seized Manchuria and have now undertaken an offensive on North and Central China in the hope of conquering the most important part of China and thereby of preparing the conditions for a world war to bring about a new division of the globe and the establishment of a great continental Japanese Empire.

Between Germany, Italy and Japan, there is in fact being carried through military collaboration. The meeting between Hitler and Mussolini which is being boosted so much in the fascist press is undoubtedly being carried through with a view to intensifying the policy of aggression. In November, last year, Germany and Japan concluded the well-known agreement to conduct a concerted struggle against the "Comintern." It is no secret that this agreement is nothing other than a military alliance. Last year, Italy and Japan exchanged expressions of mutual "recognition." Japan recognized the seizure of Ethiopia by Italy, while Italy recognized the seizure of Manchuria by Japan. Negotiations are now taking place between Italy and Japan regarding the signing of an agreement which will be a reproduction of the Germano-Japanese agreement. As Guida, the editor of the official Italian *Journal d'Italia* has declared, "Now it is only a question of completing the formalities."

The fascist rulers are making a trump-card of their close relations. By their mutual support of their bandit actions they are attempting, under the flag of the "anti-Comintern agreement," and amid the noise of trenchant and lying phrases, to win to their side the governments which do not appreciate or do not wish to appreciate how great are the calamities afflicted on all countries and people by fascism.

The peoples desirous of peace should understand that the military collaboration of the fascist aggressors is an accomplished fact. This is unequivocally recognized in the official press and by statesmen of these countries. Hitler jauntily chattered about this at the recent Nurenburg circus presented by the German fascists, when he boastfully declared that "Germany is now . . . linked up in close bonds of friendship with powerful states," *i.e.*, with Italy and Japan.

Germany, Japan and Italy are the three main forces of war. But every capitalist country has its own fascist forces which are attempting to bring war into being as soon as possible. Such fascist reactionary groupings exist in every country, even the smallest. In addition there are influential political parties and organizations of the bourgeoisie in the various countries which in their statements in the League of Nations and in their press and by their policy fundamentally do everything possible to help the aggressors to begin war. First place among such abettors of military adventures must be allocated to the British Conservatives. And finally there are parties and people who, although they do not themselves want war, by their constant concessions and compromises, in actual fact cover up the aggressors by capitulating to them. These do not understand that compromise between peace and war, between aggression and non-aggression is impossible. There can be no half-way line in relation to the fascist aggressors; the choice has to be made: either the bloc of aggressors, or the front of collective security.

What are the chief *forces of peace*

now operating on the international arena?

The first and leading force which gathers around itself all the supporters of peace on an international scale is the land of socialism, the fatherland of the workers of all countries, the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Soviet Union can not be recognized when compared to what it was between six and seven years ago. The Soviet Union now possesses a powerful industry, it is a land of collective and state farms, of joyous labor, where the material well-being of the people and the defensive power of the country are improving with every day that passes. The invincible workers' and peasants' Red Army is an army of peace, a powerful buttress of the peace policy of the U. S. S. R. and of all friends of peace. All the enemies and friends of the U. S. S. R. are aware of this.

The U. S. S. R. is the land of the great Stalin Constitution, which provides real democracy such as mankind has not seen during the whole period of its existence, a constitution which is "an indictment against fascism, declaring that socialism and democracy are invincible" (Stalin).

Finally, a factor of no small importance in the struggle to strengthen peace throughout the world is the great cleansing work undertaken against the nests of spies in the U. S. S. R. By uncovering the treachery, the perfidious wrecking work of the fascist agents, by exposing and mercilessly sweeping out the nests of Trotsky-Bukharinite espionage and diversion, the Party of Lenin-Stalin has strengthened the defensive power of the country and dealt a tremendous blow at the fascists. Fundamentally, one of the greatest battles against fascism and the fascist warmongers has been won thereby.

By purging the ranks of the Communist Party of double-dealers and corrupt elements, by replacing degenerate officials by honest sons of the country, the C. P. S. U. has advanced the cause of the construction of socialism, and thereby assisted in strengthening the might of the U. S. S. R., which means strengthening peace throughout the world. The U. S. S .R. is the buttress of liberty, peace and friendship among the peoples.

The speech made by Comrade Litvinov, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, at the session of the League of Nations on September 21, is a new demonstration of the powerful role played by the great Soviet Union as defender of international peace. This is why the weak nations which are menaced by fascist aggression, fascist enslavement and servitude seek support in the U. S. S. R.

It is precisely to the Soviet Union that the weak countries and peoples who are anxious to maintain international peace turn their glances.

It is well known throughout the world that after the foul onslaught of the fascists on the Spanish people, the U. S. S. R. was the first and only country to render diplomatic, moral and political aid to the Spanish people. And the Spanish people will never forget this. The mothers and children of Spain will never forget that at the very moment when Madrid stood on the brink of famine it was Soviet steamers that brought aid to the Spanish people, thus fulfilling the behest of Stalin and the will of the peoples of the U. S. S. R.

As regards the attitude of the U. S. S. R. to the other victim of fascist oppression, the Chinese people, it is well known that a non-aggression pact was concluded between the U. S. S. R. and China on August 21, according to which both parties "undertake to abstain from any attack one against the other, either individually or in concert with one or several other states." The U. S. S. R. thereby eased the position of the Chinese people in their difficult hour when they were exerting all their efforts to defend their independence and secure their national unification. This agreement was prepared a long time ago. As far back as 1933 Comrade Litvinov, speaking at a session of the Central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R., pointed out that the Soviet Union had accepted the proposal of the Chinese Government regarding the conclusion of a non-aggression pact and that the draft of such a pact was being discussed by the Chinese Government. "Strictly pur-

suing the policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of China, we watch its struggle for independence and national unification with the greatest sympathy."

"This agreement," states the official communiqué of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Chinese Government, "not only provides a further guarantee of peace between China and the Soviet Union, but is the first signal showing the Pacific countries that their safety must be guaranteed with the aid of non-aggression pacts."

Finally, at the September season of the League of Nations, Comrade Litvinov, the representative of the Soviet Union, energetically supported the call for aid to Spain and China, the victims of aggression.

Thus it is that the U. S. S. R. not in words, but in deeds, helps the people whose independence is menaced by the fascist fomenters of war. This is why the U. S. S. R., the most important peace factor, is now becoming a center of attraction for all the forces of democracy.

The second factor of peace is the working class, the international working class movement for peace. It is a misfortune that the working class throughout the world has not yet overcome the split existing in its ranks. What would the fascist aggressors look like now if the efforts of the Communist International and its affiliated parties to bring about *united action* on an international scale had been crowned with success?

The international proletariat, acting together and coordinating their efforts with those of the U. S. S. R. in maintaining peace, would not have tolerated an onslaught by German and Italian fascism on the Spanish people, would not have allowed the Japanese militarists in the Far East to wage a robber war in China and to violate international obligations with impunity.

But at the same time we must say that the ranks of the working class are not now divided to such a degree as they were several years ago. Thanks to the insistent and consistent struggle of the Communist International for unity, united action has been brought about and a united front established in a number of countries, and in several countries the question is already being raised of bringing about the organic unity of the political and trade union organizations of the working class. This is the case in France, Spain, Norway and even in fascist Italy. A wide mass movement of the friends of peace is also developing.

Thus the international working class and the friends of peace have made a step forward, have considerably improved their position.

The third peace factor is the People's Front in France and Spain.

In spite of all difficulties the People's Front in France is gathering strength, and the work of establishing a united party of the proletariat is also progressing. This means that the cause of peace is also gathering strength—which explains why the German and Italian fascists are so furious, why the British Conservative Government is exerting such pressure now on the French Government to compel them to change their policy. The reactionary big bourgeoisie of France is doing everything possible by financial machinations and with the aid of fascist terrorists to undermine the French People's Front. And the Trotskyist spies and traitors, together with certain reactionary elements in the Socialist Party of France, are doing their utmost to shatter the unity agreement existing between the Socialist and Communist Parties.

In one of his articles, Comrade Dimitroff wrote that to fight now for the cause of peace means to achieve the withdrawal of the German and Italian interventionists from Spain, and of Japanese imperialism from China. This, however, is something which cannot be achieved by merely wishing it. In fighting for their independence, the Spanish people are at the same time fighting for the cause of peace, for they are striving to secure the withdrawal of the interventionist troops. Tremendous forces are maturing in Spain such as give one every ground for saying that the Spanish people will, with the aid of the international proletariat, win victory over the bloc of fascist states.

But this victory will only be possible if the People's Front is further developed and strengthened; if the policy of the People's Front is operated and a resolute struggle carried on against its enemies, the Trotskyists, the uncontrolled elements, etc.; if the defense industry is strengthened and if the people's army is further developed and consolidated. Many difficulties have been overcome, but still further trials lie ahead.

The Spanish people would long ago have put an end to General Franco's gangs had not the fascist powers sent their armies, their aviation and navies to the aid of Franco.

Why do the German and Italian fascists stand in such fear of the victory of the Spanish people over General Franco? Because they know that such a victory will have highly unfavorable consequences internationally for fascism; such a victory will be a moral, political and military defeat for the expeditionary corps sent by Germany and Italy to Spain. Such a victory will arouse dissatisfaction in the fascist countries and speed up the collapse of the fascist dictatorship whose foundations are being shaken all the time.

It is characteristic that the victory of the Spanish people at Guadalajara gave rise to keen dissatisfaction at Mussolini's Spanish adventure even among the fascist organizations in Italy. Many Italian soldiers, workers and peasants are saying: "The conquest of Ethiopia increased military expenditure, but brought the people no benefits. Why then send troops to Spain?"

During the last fifteen to seventeen years, wages in Italy have fallen 45 per cent. The Italian peasants are suffering from want and hunger. The solidarity of the masses of the people with the struggle of the Spanish people against fascism is increasing. Despite terror and persecution funds are collected in aid of Republican Spain. Thousands of workers are in jail for offering this aid.

Similar things are taking place in Germany as well. There is an increase of discontent among the working class, among the youth. The Gestapo has carried through numerous arrests among workers and the Hitler youth throughout Germany for expressions of sympathy toward the Spanish Republic. The workers have all along been collecting money and sending it to their Spanish brothers.

In connection with the furious preparation for war, with the cutting down of the import of agricultural products, the fascist regime has literally established feudal conditions in relation to the peasants.

The fascist press has itself been compelled to admit that great and serious discontent is maturing among the German peasants. The middle classes and religious people persecuted by fascism are also expressing their discontent with the fascist regime.

Like Germany and Italy, Japan is being shaken by serious difficulties of an internal and international character. The fascist militarists who promised the bourgeoisie and landowners an easy victory and tremendous profits in China have drawn Japan into a protracted war which demands big increases in military expenditure. Japan is now spending between 20 and 25 million yen per day on the war in China. This figure will undoubtedly increase as the war drags on. The war in China is sharply affecting the already tense position of the economic life of Japan. Discontent is also on the increase among the masses of the people. Even in the bourgeois camp voices are being raised which are demanding an end to the Japano-Chinese war. Despite the ferocious terror that is reigning there, the Manchurian rear of Japanese imperialism is far from providing the Japanese usurpers with a breathing spell. There is no end to the guerrilla movement which has assumed quite imposing dimensions, and one can imagine how it will develop now that Japan is hurling its main forces into Central China as well.

All this goes to prove that the position behind the fascist lines both in the West and in the Far East is far from being stable.

The fascist rulers, faced with insurmountable difficulties, are doing everything possible to speed up the outbreak

of a new world war, for "as far as fascism is concerned, peace means certain ruin" (Dimitroff). But they will not succeed in this if the countries which stand for the maintenance of peace begin to understand one another, and find ways of solving international problems peacefully and collectively, as was the case at the conference in Montreux, and find means of offering collective resistance to the aggressors as was the case in Nyon, and if the international proletariat musters all its forces against the fascist aggressors and warmongers.

All progressive mankind is against war and fascism on the side of the Chinese and Spanish people who are fighting their heroic struggles. The prime duty of all anti-fascists, of all friends of peace, is to come to the aid of their brothers engaged in the struggle against hated fascism, the turbid wave of which "is bespattering the socialist movement of the working class and besmirching the democratic strivings of the best people of the civilized world" (Stalin).

The proletarian parties, the vanguard of the working class, must day in and day out carry on a consistent and persistent exposure of the cunning manœuvers of the warmongers, and fight to establish united proletarian action, to establish the united People's Front. The more the forces of the proletariat and of the masses of the people who are thirsting for peace are consolidated, the more active their pressure on their governments, the greater is the certainty that the fascists will fail to drive millions of people into a new monstrous bloodbath.

At the present time, when the fascist barbarians and aggressors of Berlin, Rome and Tokio are in every way possible and according to an agreed plan intensifying fascist aggression in Spain and China, destroying towns and villages, wiping out the peaceful population, sinking merchant ships and blocking Spanish and Chinese ports; at the time when these modern pirates and political bandits are using all means possible to kindle a new world war, the international proletariat cannot rest content with a general statement of the unity of the views of the international labor organizations as to the need for rendering aid to the Spanish people, as was the case at the conference of the three Internationals at Annemasse. Nor can they rest content with platonic declarations in favor of unity as was the case with De Brouckere, the Chairman of the Labor and Socialist International, during his visit to Spain.

Not words, but deeds are wanted. What is needed is that united action be achieved without delay among the international workers' organizations, namely, the Communist International, the Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, in defense of the Spanish and Chinese people, in defense of international peace.

What is needed is concerted action by all workers' organizations, all friends of peace and supporters of democracy, under the slogans: "For a united front against the war-makers! For effective aid to the heroic Spanish and Chinese peoples! The defense of Spain and China is the defense of peace throughout the world!"

It must be thoroughly understood that the "establishment of united action of the international proletariat against fascism, the common enemy, the mortal enemy of the whole of mankind, is *the basic and urgent task of the workers' organizations throughout the world, is the supreme demand of the present moment*" (Dimitroff).

The Nuremberg Circus

BY K. HASSL

GERMAN fascism has entered on a period of rapidly growing difficulties. The position of Germany at home and abroad is an illustration of this, and the hysterical, noisy speeches of the fascist leaders at the last Nuremberg Congress of the National-Socialist Party (September 8-13) confirm it.

In his program speech at the end of November, 1936, on the so-called "second four-year plan," Goering declared that by the end of June, 1937, the shortage of raw materials in industry would be finally overcome. But actually the shortage of raw materials has become more acute: because of lack of raw materials the work in factories is constantly being interrupted, there are more frequent stoppages, and a short working day is being introduced. Actually the German fascists have been compelled to issue a number of new regulations providing for the usage of poor-quality and costly substitutes to replace the shortage of raw materials. The features of war time economics have become more marked.

The food of the German people has become still worse. In April already the reserves of grain in Germany were almost exhausted. The bread, which even before was of bad quality because of the mixed flours used, has become still worse now. Wheaten bread apparently contains not only potato-flour and starch, but also a definite percentage of maize flour. Even the fascist press admits that this bread is difficult to digest and is the cause of much sickness. But the population can only be supplied with even this poor quality bread because the peasants have been mercilessly deprived of the grain they had set aside to feed their cattle. Fats are distributed on ration cards in totally inadequate quantities. There are frequently no eggs at all to be bought in the markets.

During the last few years the prices of potatoes, fruit and vegetables have increased by 40 to 60 per cent. There has been a serious epidemic among pigs since April of this year; this will considerably increase the already serious shortage of meat, and will become apparent not later than in the beginning of next year. The harvest of grain this year is less even than the poor harvest of 1936. According to fascist data, the difference in the harvest as compared with 1936 amounts this year to 300,000 to 400,00 tons, but actually it is considerably greater. The extent of the difficulties can also be judged from the fact that Goering, speaking recently at Stuttgart, declared that there would be an increase of terrorist measures against the peasantry, and that bread cards would be introduced.

The fascists are encountering ever greater difficulties in financing the war industry. They are resorting to increased taxation, extorted with merciless severity, to a number of compulsory levies (partly in the form of "voluntary" contributions) and compulsory loans; but even this is not enough. Cases of financing by means of unbacked bills of exchange are becoming more and more frequent. Bills of exchange of the state treasury have long become a means of

payment by the capitalists. Simultaneously the circulation of bank notes is increasing. Apparently the limit has been reached beyond which manifestations of open inflation can no longer be avoided by prices dictated from above, if the inflation measures of the government continue.

Schacht, who has experienced the horrible consequences of the financial policy of Helferiech and is afraid of what may happen to the integrity of the whole of capitalist economy, tried before the summer of this year to prevent the actual realization of the "second four-year plan," which was announced with such noise at the 1936 Nuremberg Congress. All big capital investments in new enterprises made since the autumn of 1936, were provided for by the "second four-year plan" and are directly connected with the armaments program. Now Goering has set in motion the State Mining and Metallurgical Enterprises Co., Ltd., which is a plan for the colossal misspending of state funds. According to this plan, a beginning is to be made on the working up of the iron ore reserves of Germany, part of which contains less than 10 per cent of iron. In order to smelt the iron, this ore has first of all to be prepared like copper ore. The plan provides for the transfer of the center of the metallurgical industry to Middle Germany. There will probably be more iron used to carry out this plan than it will ever be possible to obtain from the almost valueless ore.

The position of the working people of Germany has become considerably worse. True, the number of unemployed has once more fallen, and the number of employed workers has increased. In 1933, the fascists proclaimed as their gospel the viewpoint that the German woman should be a housewife and bear children, and on no account work in industry. Now those times have passed. Now women are being drawn in masses into the war industry, and a special state institution is in existence which occupies itself with training working women for this industry. However, the growth of production lags behind the increase in the number of workers employed—the consequence of insufficient raw materials and the chronic under-feeding of the German working class.

Official German wage and price statistics are false throughout. But even through the fog and falsity of these statistics a grain of truth sometimes breaks through. Thus, the index for the production of means of production (if the year 1928 is taken as 100) was 76.7 per cent in 1934, and 130.2 per cent in May, 1937; while at the same time the index of the production of means of consumption increased only from 92 per cent in 1934 to 95 per cent in 1937.

Moreover, it must be taken into account that a considerable portion of articles of consumption is used for the army which is growing in numbers, and for the accumulation of reserves in case of war. Thus, the index of the industrial production of the means of consumption in the year 1935 dropped to 85.5 per cent as compared with the year 1928, and in 1936, it increased to 91.7 per cent. This circumstance is closely connected with the introduction of conscription. In the first six months of 1937, on the other hand, the total sales made in retail shops were 30 per cent lower than the corresponding figure for the year 1931. And yet that year was one of clearly expressed crisis! We should also take into account the incredible worsening of the quality of these goods, wool substitutes being used instead of wool, imitation leather instead of leather, wood instead of metal, etc.

Since 1933, the population of Germany has increased by almost two million, a section of the unemployed has been brought into industry, but the consumption of the German people is falling! The fascists themselves have been forced to talk about the fact that there is a worsening of conditions as regards food. In his declaration at the Nuremberg Congress, Hitler talked about the distribution of food being the most acute problem, and about his not being able to guarantee a constant supply to the people.

Thus we see an unexampled phenomenon: consumption is falling in all spheres, yet there is a considerable in-

crease in the number of employed workers, and almost all skilled workers have been drawn into industry. Consumption has fallen as regards quantity, and more so as regards quality.

The income of the German workers is extremely varied. In the war industry proper, workers are paid better than in others, true, while working in conditions of constant slave-driving, humiliation and compulsory overtime. But millions of workers, almost all those in light industry and also some of the workers in heavy industry, receive an extremely low, miserable wage. Over half the German workers bring home less than 20 marks a week—what remains after paying taxes, membership dues, and other deductions. An investigation among adult workers showed that about one-third are in need of immediate medical attention.

An investigation into the physical condition of children reveals a horrible picture: in one Westphalian town, the doctors recorded cachexia and sicknesses in over 75 per cent of the children, in Aachen, 68 per cent, etc. This investigation was made in 1937. The medical examination of the men called up for service this year revealed such disconsolate results that the Reichswehr generals were compelled to raise the question publicly.

It is obvious that in these conditions the discontent and indignation of the German workers are growing not only among the lowest paid workers but also among the workers of the war industry who are working to the point of exhaustion and who, remembering their lost rights, feel they have been deceived by the fascists who promised to improve their position.

A sign of this growing unrest in the factories is the increase in terror there. In all the war factories as well as in many other works, there is a secret works' police composed of people who as often as not have been through the schooling of the "SS" (Blackshirts) and the Gestapo. But even this is not enough for the fascist rulers. The number of enterprises directly protected by strong detachments of the Gestapo in police uniform is constantly growing. Cases of workers being arrested, of workers being forcibly sent to work on the construction of trunk motor roads and military fortifications, are becoming more and more frequent. In spite of this there is a growing resistance to the fascists of which *nothing at all was said at Nuremberg.*

The position of the peasantry is no better. Actually the peasantry in Germany have ceased to be independent peasants. Forced to cultivate the land, they are deprived even of the means required to feed their own families. In a number of cases, in order to avoid the high fines, the peasants are compelled to buy eggs and other produce in the towns, in order to deliver what is demanded by the state collectors. The recent regulations regarding the compulsory delivery of grain by the peasants should lead to a severe reduction in the head of cattle, although cattle-breeding is the main source of livelihood of the majority of the German working peasants.

The villages are inundated with police, all kinds of controlling bodies, collecting stations, and bodies for compulsory regulating economy; all this is driving the peasants to desperation. They are groaning under the burden of taxation and exactions, and of low prices for their produce which is then sold at high prices in the towns; they are suffering from the poor quality goods which they have to buy at high prices. Cases of compulsory sales to pay debts are becoming more and more frequent; many peasants are being sent to prisons and concentration camps. Yet Goering threatens the peasants with increased terror.

The bankrupt Minister for Public Catering in fascist Germany, Darre, boasted at Nuremberg of his "successes." He said nothing, however, about his real "feats." He did not say that he had reduced German agriculture to ruin, that with every year that passes the production of grain crops and cattle breeding is declining, while the quality of agricultural produce is also dropping; he did not say that masses of the German working peasants are overwhelmed by debts and are poverty-stricken.

Not a word was said at Nuremberg about the urban middle classes, of the conditions of the handicraftsmen and small traders. An indescribable tragedy is taking place in fascist Germany. At one time these small business men were supporters of the fascists. They expected Hitler to bring them salvation, to improve their lives, their often miserable material conditions. And, the German petty-bourgeoisie literally helped their grave-digger to come to power. The return to sobriety began in 1934, when Hitler, Goering and Goebbels spoke for the first time about "petty-bourgeois idiots." Since the middle of last year the German fascists have been proclaiming the slogan: "There are hundreds and hundreds of thousands of 'superfluous' handicraftsmen and small shopkeepers."

In January, Goering gave orders for the workers in 700,000 handicraft shops to be transferred to industry. In Berlin alone, thousands of small shops are empty, their owners having been ruined by the fascist regime. Unrest has begun among these masses.

The mass social basis of German fascism is beginning to crack, although this is not very noticeable because of the fierce terror of the fascists. The extent of the unrest can be seen from the way the population makes use of the legal possibilities of opposing fascism. The opportunity is usually afforded in connection with religious holidays. Despite the furious efforts of the Gestapo and Blackshirts to prevent the religious festival in Annaberg, Upper Silesia, 150,000 people, including tens of thousands of workers, assembled there this year. Actually it devolved into a mass of demonstration of the working people against the fascist regime; the people greeted the leaflets of the Communists with enthusiasm.

"Fascism is a ferocious but unstable power," said Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. And indeed the economic difficulties of fascist Germany, the breakdown of the fascist four-year plan, the difficult position of the working people, the growth of the hostility of the masses to the regime of repression and poverty, all fully confirm the estimation of fascism made by Comrade Dimitroff.

The real situation in Germany was hidden under a mountain of phrases and lies at Nuremberg.

Hitler was not sparing with curses to scare all democratic and progressive forces with "world Bolshevism," "Judaism," while at the same time taking up the cudgels on behalf of "the upper 10,000," *i.e.*, the big financial magnates, whom he faithfully serves.

Today the fascists are forcing the German people mainly to produce guns, airplanes, tanks, hand-grenades and gas-bombs, to build military fortifications, barracks and huge industrial enterprises which can only be made use of in wartime.

They have no intention at all of solving the "social problem" by means of material factors such as increases in wages; they "are solving" it by proclaiming the "community of the people." And the role allotted to the workers can be seen from the verse printed in the *Voelkischer Beobachter* on the day when Hitler reviewed the people undergoing labor conscription:

We are soldiers, prepared to serve,
Ours is not to reason why.

This is allegedly how the workers speak and think. But the German fascists and especially their capitalist masters have no illusions about being able to convert into an obedient, speechless slave, the German workers in whom there live the great fighting traditions of his class, who at one time served as an example to the working class of the whole world. With every day that passes they feel themselves further and further from this goal. They have inflamed class contradiction to a degree hitherto unprecedented, and have thereby created the necessary preconditions for the working class, peasantry and middle classes to forge a common struggle against fascism.

The German fascists and their masters are afraid of the People's Front, the idea of which is becoming more and more popular in Germany. They are afraid that the People's Front in Germany, inspired by the example of other countries,

will develop into a victorious force, the more so since precisely this Nuremberg party congress has once more, and more strikingly than ever before, shown that all that the fascists can do is unscrupulously to rob the people and doom them to poverty.

This weakness of German fascism expressed itself in Nuremberg in the fact that the fascists could not point to a single measure to improve the position of the people, to overcome the growing economic difficulties. The only "way out" proposed by Hitler is *the conquest of foreign lands.*

Hitler said that it was impossible to supply Germany with foodstuffs without "colonial possessions." And the Italian press in its comments added that by colonies Hitler meant the countries situated to the East and Southeast of Germany.

A war of aggression is the "way out" planned by the German fascists. The main speeches of the Nuremberg mob were devoted to preparations for war.

Goebbels made a speech so dirty, so foul and so saturated with lies, that no other speech ever pronounced at a public meeting can compare with it. In it there is the most disgusting slander against the Spanish people uttered in the language of the brothel. The chief trump-card in the speech of the scoundrel Goebbels was the assertion that "fascist Germany will not tolerate a situation where the Communist International establishes a new base for its operations (!) in Western Europe." This declaration means above all that fascist Germany will increase its intervention in Spain. It coincides almost word for word with a statement made previously by Mussolini, immediately after which new Italian divisions began to be despatched to Spain, and Italy's pirate war began in the Mediterranean Sea; therefore Goebbels' words can also not be interpreted in any other way.

Since, in the eyes of the German fascists, any independent working class movement, any People's Front movement, any sort of democracy, any anti-fascism, coincides with Bolshevism, can we be sure that the German fascists together with Mussolini will not one day declare that democratic France is "a base for the operations of the Communist International in Western Europe," in order to attack her, as they have attacked Spain? They have long declared that Czechoslovakia is a hotbed of Bolshevism in Central Europe. Can we be sure that they will not one day attack Czechoslovakia? All their speeches were a declaration of war against the whole of democratic Europe, including England, while laying demonstrative emphasis on their alliance with Italy and Japan.

Perhaps there are some who think we should pay no heed to the loud howling of the German fascists? This viewpoint is wrong and dangerous. It is precisely the weakness of fascist Germany, the breakdown of its economy, the growth of poverty and, at the same time, the growth of the resistance of the people that are goading the German fascists to adventures, to provocation in the sphere of foreign politics, to war.

The ground under Italian fascism is also unstable and yet, after the Ethiopian war, Italian fascism has undertaken a new adventure, war against the Spanish people, and is still planning others. The Japanese fascist militarists were not in a position to digest Manchuria, it being beyond Japan's economic strength, yet Japan has begun a new war of aggression against the Chinese people.

German fascism is unable with its own forces to disentangle itself from the difficulties into which it has fallen as a result of its all-embracing preparations for war. It can only plunge the German people deeper into poverty; it will ruin the state finances more rapidly than hitherto by rapidly advancing toward open inflation. The fascists cannot turn back because they realize that they would be inevitably swept away by a terrible crisis. And so all the more willingly does German fascism enter into adventures, all the more does it threaten peaceful countries, precisely because it is totally incapable of creating anything really new, of achieving any real successes.

For the whole world Nuremberg is a serious warning. Fortunately there are signs that this warning will be understood. It was simultaneous with the Nuremberg party congress that the Nyon conference was in session, a conference the political significance of which, as Litvinov said, is greater than its possible practical consequences. There are signs that certain forces of peace, which have hitherto only timidly replied to the provocation and aggression of the fascists, will be prepared for more energetic action.

At the Nuremberg congress a challenge was thrown down to the entire labor movement, to all who are sincerely fighting for peace. The urgent task facing the working class and all friends of peace is to rally their forces in the struggle against fascism and war, to aid the Spanish and Chinese peoples fighting against the fascist aggressors.

In one of his speeches at the congress Hitler boastfully shouted out that the German soldiers of today will fight better in time of war than did the soldiers of Kaiser Germany. Hitler has miscalculated. The people who are exhausted and oppressed, and full of hatred for the existing fascist regime, will not defend the robber plans of the fascists and their masters, the big capitalists.

The determination is growing among the masses of the people of Germany to resist the fascist war-makers. But these masses are in need of unity. The anti-fascist forces of Germany are still disunited. The reactionary section of the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party is doing its utmost to sabotage working class unity of action against fascism, the common enemy. Certain opposition forces consider that only war can overthrow fascism, and that it is useless to conduct the struggle at present. There can be no doubt that war would lead to the overthrow of fascism, but not without a stubborn fight, for which it is necessary now already to rally together and to prepare all the democratic forces of the people. And how many futile sacrifices that war demands! Can not war be averted?

If this is to be achieved, it is essential, despite all obstacles and difficulties, to establish unity between all democratic and progressive forces, and above all to establish unity among the anti-fascist forces of Germany. We must not wait for war to come, but avert it; we must not wait for the overthrow of fascism during war, but mobilize all forces to destroy this enemy of mankind before war breaks out.

Problems of the People's Front in the United States

BY GENE DENNIS

SINCE the presidential elections, the struggle in the United States between the forces and parties of progress and peace and of reaction and war has greatly sharpened. New political realignments are in the making, shaking the very foundations of the traditional American two-party system.

The labor movement, under the progressive leadership of the C.I.O. (Committee for Industrial Organization) has made new strides forward, firmly entrenching itself in the hitherto unconquerable strongholds of trustified capital in the steel, auto and other basic industries. The achievements of labor in the organization of powerful industrial unions have been accompanied by a mighty wave of strikes of a high level of militancy and class solidarity. During the first four months of 1937, 1,134,556 workers were involved in strike struggles. The number of work-days lost was 18,051,706, as compared with 13,800,000 for the whole of 1936. Organized labor, principally through the C. I. O. and Labor's Non-Partisan League, has come forward in a more decisive role as an independent political factor and is influencing progressive developments, including the highly important progressive regroupings in the Democratic Party.

At the same time the reactionary forces, instigated by Wall Street and the Liberty League, have become more aggressive. The concerted attacks of the tories in Congress and the state legislatures against progressive labor and social legislation are being buttressed by a more open campaign to restrict and wipe out the civil rights of the people and to deprive labor of the right to organize, strike and collectively bargain. An unprecedented campaign of demagogy has been started to win the middle classes and pit them against the C. I. O. and the Roosevelt administration.

The reactionaries are attempting to turn the foreign policy of the U. S. government in the direction of establishing close collaboration between the United States, the British Tories and the fascist aggressors. In this connection special attention is being given to exploit the "neutrality" policy of the Roosevelt administration so as to confuse and divide the growing peace movement of the American masses, as well as to provide complete support for the German, Japanese and Italian fascists.

Characteristic of the struggles and class regroupings taking place in American political life are the great steel strike and the sharp fight waged around the proposal to partially reform the Supreme Court. These two closely interrelated developments became the most important battle fronts between all the forces of progress and reaction.

The steel strike, which started at the end of May embraced approximately 100,000 workers from the big four "independent" steel corporations in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Indiana. Led by

the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (C. I. O.), it had the support of the entire C. I. O. movement, of important sections of the American Federation of Labor (A. F. of L.), and Railway Brotherhoods. The strike also had the partial support of the liberal Democratic bloc in Congress and the Pennsylvania state administration.

Employing modern methods of organization and militant strike tactics, the steel workers, under the banner of the C. I. O., won important partial victories over the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company and the Inland Steel Corporation. Moreover, the strategy of the C. I. O. and the heroic struggle of the steel workers succeeded in mobilizing not only the decisive sections of the labor movement, but also important sections of the liberal movement, in defense of trade union and civil rights, which became the central issue in the strike.

Despite all weaknesses of the steel strike, *i.e.*, inadequate strike and relief preparations, underestimation of the strength and maneuvers of the steel corporations, the illusions regarding the extent of support forthcoming from the Roosevelt administration, and insufficient attention to mobilizing the middle classes—unquestionably the steel strike demonstrated the growing power of the C. I. O., as well as manifesting the advancing political consciousness and activity of labor as an independent political force. The strike also showed that the Communist Party, which played a vigorous and important role in the strike, is rapidly establishing its "citizenship" in the labor movement.

But at the same time, in connection with the steel strike, attempts were made by the reactionary forces to develop a counter-offensive against the labor and democratic movements. The "open-shop" drive of the Big Four "independent" steel corporations had the support of the Iron and Steel Institute, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the Liberty League Republicans and reactionary Democrats.

A "back-to-work" movement was organized on the basis of launching an unprecedented reign of terror and violence which was accompanied by the organization of vigilante groups and movements which have now established a national coordinating committee and center.

In this connection the split in the labor movement and the reactionary policy of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. were employed to foster strikebreaking.

The offensive against the strike was coupled with attacks against Roosevelt. This line of attack was carried on to a large extent by the Liberty League Republicans in collaboration with and through the medium of the reactionary wing of the Democratic Party in such a manner as to influence the vacillating centrist groups within the Democratic Party against Roosevelt's Supreme Court plan and the C. I. O. This alliance of the tory Republicans and "Jeffersonian" Democrats, which succeeded in securing the support of important sections of the centrist forces in the Democratic Party, was one of the main factors responsible for the overwhelming majority vote in the Senate which defeated the Roosevelt judiciary plan. It was also made to force Roosevelt to break with John L. Lewis, as well as to create a breach between Lewis and the Left forces in the C. I. O. While the reactionaries did not succeed in the latter, they were able to utilize the middle-of-the-road position of Roosevelt to weaken his relations with the C. I. O. and to create great waverings in the ranks of the liberal Democrats.

The reactionaries unleashed an avalanche of demagogy to the effect that the Wagner Labor Relations Act foments strife and disorder; that President Roosevelt and Governor Earle have violated their oaths of office and the constitutional rights of the people and are not guaranteeing "the right to work," *i.e.*, scab; that Lewis and the C. I. O. are irresponsible, break contracts, promote class hatred and are "guided from Moscow"; that the enactment by Congress of Roosevelt's Supreme Court proposals would establish a virtual Roosevelt-Lewis dictatorship which would usher in a greater wave of class strife and in-

dustrial warfare; that the rising cost of living and the unprecedented deficit in the Federal Budget were brought about "by the New Deal policy of extravagant aid to labor" at the expense of the farmers and middle classes; that the proposed court reform and pending New Deal labor legislation would further accentuate this deficit, throwing additional tax burdens on the farm and middle class population.

It must be recognized that the reactionaries met with a degree of success with this campaign. Groups of professionals and middle class elements were drawn into the vigilante movements in Ohio and Michigan. Larger sections, in this area and in other parts of the country not directly affected by the strike, were mobilized to bring pressure on Congress, as well as the state authorities, for the purpose of curbing the C.I.O. movement and of killing Roosevelt's Supreme Court plan. After the defeat of the Supreme Court proposals the reactionaries were successful in adjourning Congress with the major part of the New Deal legislative program sabotaged or shelved; this included amending the Housing Bill so as to reduce its limited usefulness considerably and postponing action on the Wages and Hours Bill, farm aid and other progressive legislation.

The offensive of the reactionaries has also been evidenced in the organization of a concerted drive to amend the pro-labor features of the Wagner Act, to enact legislation outlawing the sit-down strike and mass picketing, as well as in the vigilante movement, which is assuming national proportions.

The conflict between the forces of progress and reaction is becoming more acute and intense; the reactionaries are more and more seeking to reverse the election mandate of the people in November, 1936, by non-parliamentary methods.

In spite of this, organized labor, under the leadership of the C.I.O., is drawing the lessons from its experiences in the steel struggles and Supreme Court fight, and relying more upon its own strength and independent organization and political activity, and aiding in creating the basis for a powerful national Farmer-Labor Party.

* * *

Although the movement for the immediate formation of a national Farmer-Labor Party—a specific form of the American People's Front—has proceeded up till now very unevenly and at a slow tempo, *the forces making for an anti-fascist People's Front are growing at a rapid pace, in varied forms and along different channels.*

Organized labor, in the first place the C.I.O. and Labor's Non-Partisan League, which has emerged as the main base and driving force of the People's Front movement and is exercising growing independent political power, is striving to influence sections of the Democratic Party in a progressive direction, combining systematic activity within the Democratic Party with increased independent Farmer-Labor political action. Labor, together with large masses of the toiling farmers and city middle classes, continues to rally in support of the social and labor legislative program of the New Deal, though this support is being coupled with a more critical attitude toward Roosevelt, the federal administration, and the Democratic Party.

Despite the recent strengthening of the reactionary wing in the Democratic Party, and its close alliance with the Republican Party in combatting Roosevelt's policies and leadership within the Democratic Party and Congress—the progressive trends in the Democratic Party are growing, though not uniformly.

The progressive Democratic bloc in Congress, chiefly in the House of Representatives, has taken a firm stand in demanding the enactment of important labor and social legislation, *i.e.*, the Wages and Hours Bill, the Housing Bill, judiciary reform, the anti-lynching bill, etc.

Liberal Democratic groups in the various state legislatures have likewise been crystallized, especially in the lower Houses in California, Washington, Oregon, Pennsylvania and Michigan. Influential sections of these progressive

forces are not only allied with the labor movement, *i.e.*, the Pennsylvania state administration, Washington Commonwealth, etc., but are likewise beginning to be drawn into the broad stream of the peace movement, in defense of the Spanish and Chinese peoples, as well as participating in aiding the youth movement, which is expanding around the democratic program of the American Youth Congress.

However, this progressive movement, at the present time, does not yet proceed along lines of separating organizationally from the Democratic Party, or of supporting minority efforts to form Farmer-Labor Parties. Instead, it is moving along the path of increased cooperation with the labor movement, simultaneously endeavoring to capture the Democratic Party and to influence it in a progressive direction, against the trusts and reactionaries.

Great tactical flexibility is required if the People's Front movement is to expand rapidly and embrace, coordinate and solidify all the various progressive trends and political realignments and weld them together with the existing labor and Farmer-Labor Party movements (Minnesota, Wisconsin, etc.) into a common front of struggle against reaction, fascism and war.

In analyzing this process and its significance for the development of the People's Front, Comrade Browder stated in his report to the June Plenum of the Central Committee:

". . . The foundation of the old two-party system was shattered by the crisis . . . there emerges the clear outlines of two new parties, carrying over much debris of the old, but representing something new, a political alignment dominated, not by regional differences among the bourgeoisie, but by class stratification among the masses of the population. There is no longer any fixed party structure in our land. Every . . . group is in motion, trying with more or less success to find its correct position in the realignment, the dominant feature of which is class alignment."

Therefore, in determining the next immediate tasks facing the Communist Party and the labor movement for advancing the People's Front, the June plenary session of the Central Committee pointed out that:

"Experience since the Seventh World Congress has proven the correctness of its decision regarding the Farmer-Labor Party as a specific form of the People's Front in the U. S. A. At the same time, this experience has shown that the People's Front cannot now be limited to the Farmer-Labor Party, which is not yet acceptable to the most important forces essential to its success—first of all, the trade unions of the C. I. O. These forces, which still express themselves politically largely within and around the Democratic Party, are clearly ripe for inclusion in a broad People's Front movement that does not call upon them to split organizationally and to form now a new party. Therefore, at this time, the development of the People's Front can only proceed along such lines as will combine the Farmer-Labor Party form of the People's Front with the simultaneous development of progressive movements within the Democratic Party (in some localities, also within the Republican Party), in elections as well as in other economic and political movements of the masses.

"This does not exclude the eventual merger of all these forces in the more developed form of the People's Front—the Farmer-Labor Party. But to insist now that the Farmer-Labor Party is the only predominant form would hinder the immediate broadest People's Front formation, as well as delay the eventual national Farmer-Labor Party."

The concrete application of this tactical line offers the means for speeding up the growth of the anti-fascist People's Front movement in connection with the approaching autumn municipal elections, which will have considerable bearing upon the course of the 1938 Congressional elections, and upon the struggle for progressive labor and social legislation everywhere in the country during the coming period.

In order to promote the further realignment of the forces favorable to the People's Front movement and the eventual crystallization of a national Farmer-Labor Party, the C.P.U.S.A. outlined the

following policy, which is guiding the work of all Party organizations in the election campaign:

"Insofar as mass trade unions and other progressive groups, politically active in the direction of the People's Front platform, are not ready at present to join in the formation of the Farmer-Labor Party, we should encourage them to systematic and organized activity within the Democratic Party, with the utmost possible independent organization, making a common front with all Left forces to defeat the the reactionaries and to strengthen the progressive forces in that party;

"In such cases where the progressive forces succeed in nominating progressive candidates and determining their platform, the Communists will support such candidates in the election;

"Where the progressive candidates are defeated in the primaries, every effort must be made to secure independent candidates backed by the same forces, failing which the Communist Party may put up its own candidates, giving consideration as to what will be most advantageous for the further development of the People's Front." (From resolution of the C.C. Plenum, June 17 to 20.)

Already this policy is taking concrete shape. This is evidenced, for instance, in the broad line-up of labor and progressive groups in the New York elections in support of Mayor La Guardia and a slate of labor and progressive candidates for the City Council. This mobilization of the masses is taking place around the American Labor Party (New York section of Labor's Non-Partisan League) which includes not only the C.I.O. unions in the A.L.P., but also the majority of the local A. F. of L. unions, the liberal Republicans, the Young Republicans, groups of independent liberal Democrats, the Communist Party, and sections of the Socialist Party not influenced by the Trotskyites. It is expressed further in the building of the organizations of Labor's Non-Partisan League in a whole score of working class communities, especially in the Eastern industrial centers, and in the organization chiefly under the influence of the C.I.O. of labor and progressive tickets operating through the machinery of the Democratic Party in Detroit, Akron, and in numerous centers in Pennsylvania, California and Ohio.

There are grounds for believing that the movement for the People's Front, for a national Farmer-Labor Party, may be further coordinated organizationally on a national scale possibly in the course of, or soon after the 1938 Congressional elections. But in any event, during the course of the municipal election campaigns, especially in the Middle and Far West, as well as in certain industrial centers in the East, there will undoubtedly take place a more advanced crystallization of the progressive political realignments in which organized labor, mainly through the C.I.O. and Labor's Non-Partisan League, will come forward in a stronger independent political role.

The foremost elements of the C.I.O. and the progressive movement are advancing the idea that a broad people's conference for social and labor legislation should be organized prior to, or at the beginning of, the next session of Congress in January, 1938. Such a conference would give a mighty impetus to the struggle for progressive legislation on a local and state scale. It would serve to further link up the progressive forces and the movement for the establishment of a national Farmer-Labor Party. One cannot but greet the calling of such a conference.

* * *

However, there are a number of factors which are retarding and in varying degrees weakening the further advance of the People's Front movement.

First is the existing split in the labor movement brought about by the treacherous strikebreaking policies of William Green and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. It is unquestionably true that the C.I.O. is now the largest trade union center in the United States. During the past year the C.I.O. has increased its membership from 1,200,000 to 3,718,000 members, whereas the membership of the A. F. of L. has only grown from 2,500,000 to 3,300,000, and this mainly as a result of the impetus and influence of the C.I.O. drives. It is true that the

militant and progressive role of the C.I.O. has revitalized the American labor movement, heightened the political consciousness of the workers, and has strengthened the whole progressive movement throughout the country. It is likewise a fact that the C.I.O. movement continues to grow at a fast pace. However, the division in the trade union movement, and the existence of the C.I.O., A. F of L. and the Railway Brotherhoods as separate national and local trade union bodies, is the Achilles' heel of the labor and progressive movement. It constitutes the greatest obstacle in the way of the forward march of labor and its allies for social security, progress and peace.

The Communist Party of the United States, at its June plenum, re-emphasized in the sharpest manner that *the unification of the labor movement, particularly the establishment of trade union unity, is a most important question facing the Communist Party and the American working class;* that the forging of labor unity will bring about a further change in class relations in favor of the working class and in achieving successes in establishing the People's Front movement. The urgent tasks confronting the Communist and all progressive forces in the labor movement for healing the breach in labor's ranks consist of the following:

To give all possible support to the organizational campaigns and strikes of the C.I.O., to develop still further unity of action on all fronts between local A. F. of L. bodies and C.I.O. unions, and to organize a big campaign for trade union unity through the labor movement, working for a broad unity convention to include the C.I.O., A. F. of L., and Railroad Unions.

* * *

The relations between organized labor and the farmers and city middle classes can still not be considered satisfactory. Neither the C.I.O. nor much less the A. F. of L. has yet given systematic attention to the needs and problems of the toiling farmers. The work of the Communists among the farmers and city middle class remains a serious weak spot. The struggle against the high cost of living, for curbing monopoly prices and high rents; for a drastic reduction in taxes on the properties of the farmers and small business men; for the prohibition of foreclosures and government refinancing of farm and small homeowners' mortgages on a long term basis at low interest rates; for government crop insurance, for adequate government credit to the poorest farmers and tenant farmers; for a guaranteed minimum level of farm prices, etc. This struggle has not yet been adequately taken up and developed on a mass scale.

Similarly, inadequate attention is being given to mobilizing the city middle classes as well as the Negro people, the women and youth.

Organized labor, especially the Communists, must give energetic and full support to the economic and political demands of the exploited farmers and city middle class elements. The strengthening of the alliance between the working class and its natural allies, the toiling farmers, Negro people, and city petty bourgeoisie, will move forward the whole anti-fascist front and simultaneously strengthen the influence and positions of labor itself.

* * *

There has been a definite expansion of the peace movement in the recent period.

The campaign in defense of democratic Spain, in which the Communist Party has displayed great initiative and activity, has involved scores of the most important trade unions (national and local), the bulk of the Protestant church organizations, important sections of the democratic youth movement of America, as well as many farm organizations. More than a million dollars have been raised for Spain through the efforts of these organizations and the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. Two thousand seven hundred volunteers have gone to Spain to fight in the ranks of the International Brigade. Also the personnel and medical supplies for eight field hospitals have been sent to Republican Spain. On August 2, 40,000 mari-

time workers on the West Coast conducted a thirty-minute solidarity strike in support of the Spanish people.

In connection with the events in the Far East, a broad mass movement has been launched against Japanese aggression, in support of the Chinese people, closely linked up with the solidarity campaign in aid of the Spanish people. The demand that the U. S. Government invoke the Washington Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg Pact in defense of China and for the maintenance of world peace is arousing popular mass support. These proposals are supported even by influential sections of the bourgeoisie who are engaged in trade in the Far East.

Already there are indications that, as a result of mass pressure, the position of the American government on the question of neutrality may be modified. This can be seen in the recent statement of Secretary of State Hull addressed to the various powers, as well as the official declaration of policy on the attitude of the United States to the Far East events published on August 25 by the Department of State with the approval of President Roosevelt.

Unquestionably the power and breadth of the peace movement is growing. However, a fundamental weakness is that the struggle for peace is not yet sufficiently linked up with the general People's Front movement, especially with the Farmer-Labor movement and the progressive forces in the Democratic Party. Precisely because of this, there has been insufficient pressure exerted upon Congress and the Roosevelt administration so as to compel it to adopt a positive peace policy of collective security in collaboration with France, Britain and the U.S.S.R., directed against the fascist aggressors. With greater activity on the part of all progressive forces, these weaknesses will be eliminated.

* * *

The interests of the People's Front require a resolute struggle against Trotskyism and the achieving of proper relations between the Socialists and Communists. The struggle against Trotskyism becomes increasingly urgent in America, as elsewhere in the world. This is not because the Trotskyites have any mass influence, but because of their role as agents of fascism, as wreckers of labor unity, as those who are endeavoring to disintegrate the People's Front movement from within.

Since the national convention of the Socialist Party, in March, 1937, the Trotskyites have increased their counter-revolutionary activity.* They have renewed their campaign of slanderous attacks against the People's Front Government in Spain, in defense of the P.O.U.M. and the other Trotskyist agents of Franco, Hitler and Mussolini. They have followed up their reactionary attacks against the People's Front movement in America with the splitting of the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota. They are waging a struggle against the progressive C.I.O. movement. In connection with the recent Moscow trials of the Trotskyist bandits, they have developed the vilest slander against the Soviet Union in collaboration with Hearst and Father Coughlin.

The Communist Party has succeeded in exposing and isolating the Trotskyites in the Workers' Alliance, in the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and unions, in the American Youth Congress, etc. In the past weeks the C.P.U.S.A. has been able to secure the support of large sections of the Socialist Party to take up the offensive against these fascists agents who have been traveling under the false passports of Socialist Party membership books. There is developing within the Socialist Party, especially in New York and Wisconsin, a realization of the true fascist character of the Trotskyites, who are being driven out of the ranks of the Socialist Party. The recent expulsion of 124 leading and active Trotskyites from the New York local of the Socialist Party indicates that

* The main body of the Trotskyites in America, 500 to 600, has been in the Socialist Party, one result of which has been the isolation of this party from the mainstream of the American labor movement and the disintegration of the S.P., whose membership declined from 16,000 in May, 1936, to 5,500 in June, 1937.

the majority of the Socialist membership is discovering, on the basis of its own experience, the treachery, deceit and counter-revolutionary activity of these allies of fascism.

But this is not sufficient. The struggles against Trotskyism must be intensified and broadened until every Trotskyite and the influence of Trotskyism are completely eradicated from the labor and progressive movements. This is not the narrow concern of the Communists but is the common problem of every revolutionary worker and progressive individual. This is confirmed by the counter-revolutionary role of these agents of fascism in the U.S.S.R. and Spain, and by their treacherous activity in America.

In this connection it is necessary to push far more vigorously the establishment of unity of action between the Communists and the Socialists and their local organizations *as an organic part of the general struggle against Trotskyism, against fascism and war.* Greater efforts must be expended to wrest all sincere Socialists who are confused and misled by the Trotskyites from the poison of Trotskyism. The foregoing of the united front of struggle between the Communists and sincere Socialists, which is already being achieved in certain parts of the country around aid to Spanish democracy and support of the C.I.O. campaigns, will accelerate the unification of the labor movement and the further advance of the People's Front.

Together with this, the Communist Party is fighting to overcome the dangerous tendency developing in its own ranks to the effect that the problem of the struggle against Trotskyism in America is a problem confined chiefly to the struggles against Trotskyites in the Socialist Party. Greater political vigilance must be exerted on all fronts, including in connection with the Party press and the cadres of the Party. Likewise, the C.P.U.S.A. must take into account the changed role of the Lovestoneites who, on such questions as Spain, have adopted a position essentially identical with the Trotskyites. The question of immediately strengthening the struggle against Trotskyism and Lovestoneism is an absolutely essential prerequisite for advancing the united and People's Front against reaction, fascism and war.

* * *

The Communist Party membership is now approximately 50,000. The June plenum of the Central Committee of the Party stressed that the slow growth of the Party in relation to its expanding political influence and mass activities weakens the independent role of the working class and the further growth of the People's Front movement.

In examining the main factors responsible for this situation, the plenary session of the Central Committee focused particular attention upon overcoming the following weaknesses and shortcomings:

First, the failure of the Party committees, organizations and leading personnel to give adequate and systematic attention to the important problem of Party recruiting and building.

Second, the inadequate development by the Party organizations of independent political activities and the inadequate organization of mass propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, of socialism. An incorrect tendency is sometimes to be observed among Communists, namely, to hide the face of the Party in the various mass movements, to capitulate before the "Red scare." All this has retarded mass recruitment as well as made more difficult the retaining of new members.

Third, the insufficient development of Party democracy in the life and work of the Party organizations and committees, as well as inadequate attention given to the development and promotion of Party cadres, especially of section and unit functionaries and to the verification of cadres.

In working out a solution for these problems the C.P. of the U.S.A. is guided by the counsel and directives of Comrade Dimitroff.

"True sons of their class, defenders of the interests of their people, free from all links with and dependence on the bourgeoisie, thoroughly consistent internationalists, the Communists will best of all be able to play the role of a uniting

link in the ranks of the proletariat itself and also among all the anti-fascist parties, organizations and groups of the working people, democratic petty bourgeoisie, peasantry and intellectuals in the struggle against fascism and war.

"It follows, therefore, that in order to achieve success in the struggle for working class unity, for the united People's Front, it is necessary to work day in and day out and untiringly to strengthen and consolidate the ranks of the Communist Parties and of the entire Communist International."

Therefore, in order to help the further growth of the whole labor and progressive movement, in order to make impossible the victory of fascism and to create the prerequisites for the successful solution of current tasks and those in perspective—the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A., in its June plenum, placed as the central task before every Party organization and member the problem of building the Communist Party and strengthening its independent role in the anti-fascist People's Front; of combining the operation of the People's Front policy with broadening the mass propaganda of the Communist Party for its final aims; of organizing systematic and intenstive recruiting as an organic part of daily Communist mass work; of developing further inner-Party democracy and the bold promotion of tested proletarian cadres; of strengthening the Marxist-Leninist education of the personnel and membership of the Party in the spirit of mastering Bolshevism, as put forward by Comrade Stalin in his historic report at the February-March plenum of the C.C. of C.P.S.U.

In this way the C.P.U.S.A. will rapidly grow into a mass party, and the strengthening of the Party and its political initiative and activities will thereby further ensure the successful development of the united People's Front of struggle against the fascist war-makers and the "economic royalists" for progress, peace and democracy.

Against the British Plan to Divide Palestine

BY WILLIAM GALLACHER, M.P.

THE question of Palestine has been raised in a new and acute form. The Royal Commission proposes to divide this small country into three separate parts and by this means not only to prevent the people of Palestine from realizing national independence, but also to keep open and intensify the enmity and hatred between Arab and Jew that have been so sedulously fostered by British imperialism.

In the discussion of the report of the Royal Commission which took place in the British House of Commons, there were many different interpretations given of what Sir Henry McMahon promised the Sherif Hussein of Mecca in 1915, or of what he meant when he said that Great Britain will, "acknowledge the independence of Arab countries, in every sense of the word—independence."

There were also similar attempts to water down what was done by "Lawrence of Arabia" just as there were numerous interpretations of what Balfour said, or what Balfour meant, in his declaration on a National Scheme for the Jews on November, 1917. But however much speculation there may be on such matters as these, they all appear to be beside the point.

Whatever British diplomats or politicians may have promised to one side or the other, nothing can alter the facts that the Arabs of Palestine have and must secure the right to own their land, to develop their own form of government and to determine the course of their own lives in cooperation with their Arab or non-Arab neighbors.

For centuries Arabs and Jews have lived in close association, in peace and amity. There is no reason why it should not continue to be so. When during the Middle Ages, Jews were suffering the most unspeakable persecutions throughout the rest of Europe, in Spain under the Moorish occupation they made a mighty contribution to the advance of civilization.

Today when in a number of countries, the terror against the Jews has reached a level never known before, the Jews in Palestine have an opportunity, as loyal members of an Arab state, of contributing their share to a new advance in that country, and by this means to assist in winning the people of other lands for support of the campaign to end Jewish persecution throughout Europe.

This means finishing forever with the reactionary policy of Zionism. For Zionism, in so far as the solution of the "Jewish problem" is concerned, has always been nothing but a harmful reactionary illusion. In actual fact it has represented and carried through an invasion of Palestine, not in the interest of the Jews, but of British imperialism.

The Arabs, I am certain, would never have objected to a moderate immigration of European Jews. The more far-seeing would have welcomed them, realizing the valuable part they could play in helping forward the development of the country.

But this immigration could only usefully take place on the basis of the full

recognition of Palestine as an Arab state. Therefore, from the earliest stages of the immigration the Jews ought to have worked with the Arabs for the ending of the British mandate and for the setting up of an independent legislative assembly. Instead of following this, the only wise course, the Jews of Palestine endeavored, under the incitement of the Zionists, to carry through an occupation of Palestine at the expense of the Arabian people.

What other result could have been expected other than the tragic events recorded in recent history? No people, unless they were utterly lost and decadent, would submit without a struggle to the loss of their homeland and to the wholesale buying up of their land, which threatened to deprive them of their living and turn them into homeless wanderers. Certainly the Arabs were not prepared to tolerate it and time and again they demonstrated their hatred against the administration that was primarily responsible for their bitter wrongs.

In the report of the Royal Commission we read:

"It has been pointed out that the outbreak of 1933 was not only, or even mainly, an attack on the Jews, but an attack on the Palestine government. In 1936, this was still clearer. Jewish lives were taken and Jewish property destroyed, but the outbreak was chiefly and directly aimed at the government The word 'disturbance' gives a misleading impression of what happened. It was open rebellion of the Palestine Arabs assisted by fellow Arabs from other countries against British mandate rule."

Despicable propaganda has been used in Britain and elsewhere in an effort to discredit the heroic struggle of the Arab people. Arab men and women valiantly placed their lives and liberty in jeopardy because they were fighting in a cause that was just, the cause of national liberation. Yet we were told that it was all the outcome of "foreign incitement" or that it was the "fanatical" Mufti and his immediate associates amongst the big Effendi who were using the Arabian people for some sinister end of their own. But it does not require "foreign incitement," or Muftis, to arouse a people threatened as the Arabs were. They were left no other course but the path of revolt, and all who believe in freedom, in the right of peoples to self-determination should have been wholeheartedly with them in their fight.

With great courage they have asserted their right to Palestine and demonstrated their determination to carry on till this right is recognized and established. So now, the British imperialists, faced with the impossibility of continuing with the mandate, make a new and almost unbelievable maneuver in order to retain their power over this important center in the Near East. In several discussions in the House of Commons emphasis has been laid on the vital position of Palestine arising out of the new international situation in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. With quite cynical disregard of the Arab people, Mr. Amery, the die-hard imperialist and Conservative leader, told the House of Commons that in the new situation that had developed, "Palestine was the 'Clapham Junction'* of the air" and must be retained at all costs by the British Empire.

The Mandate, the regime that existed hitherto, having failed, it is with this end in view that partition is now proposed. Whatever is offered to the Arabs or the Jews, the real power, the real control, remains with the British imperialists.

But the Arab people will no more submit to partition than to the Mandate. They will carry on the struggle against the proposed "rape of Palestine" and for full self-government over the whole of the country. Already much of the best land has been taken from the Arab peasants and now it is proposed that 225,000 Arabs on the Jewish side of the "partition" are to be transferred. What a blessed word—"transferred." Driven off the land they have owned and cultivated for generations, they will be "replanted" somewhere, maybe to starve and die.

* Clapham Junction is a well-known center in London from which roads and transport branch out to all parts of London.—*W.G.*

"Transferred" and "replanted." How is it possible that such barbaric treatment of a great people (however simple their economy may be) can be contemplated?

At the dawn of capitalism in Great Britain, year after year thousands of men, women and children were driven off the land, forced to cross the sea to the new land of the West, never any more to see or cultivate the land they loved so dearly.

Is this picture to be repeated in Palestine?

Can the people of Britain tolerate such a terrible injustice, which can only be perpetrated by the prodigal use of armed might. For certainly the Arab people will never tolerate it. They will fight with every means against this robbery, against the attempted "rape" of their land, against the attempt to turn it into a "Clapham Junction of the air" for British imperialism—and they will be right to fight.

But what of the Jews throughout the world? What have they to say to this criminal attempt forcibly to tear a country to pieces and drive its peoples off the land? Are they still under any illusions about the politics of Zionism or are they beginning to understand that the reactionary leaders of this movement are actually betraying the Jewish people?

My own Jewish comrades have always been clear on the reactionary role of Zionism, but thousands of splendid young Jewish men and women have come under the influence of the Zionist leaders and have been led to believe that Zionism was the way of release from the persecutions that have made life a continuous hell of torture for so many Jews.

But when the Zionists lead them into the camp of British imperialism, when they identify their interests in Palestine with the interests of Britain and against the Arab people, then the question arises: Is this policy calculated to bring relief to the Jewish people who are enduring so much in Germany and Poland? Will it make their lot easier or more difficult? Obviously the latter will be the case.

Have the young men and women in the Zionist movement ever discussed the meaning of the project that Palestine should be given to the Jews and should become "a *dominion* of the British Empire"? Ivor Montagu, one of our very best Jewish comrades, effectively exposes and disposes of the Zionist Congress in the *Daily Worker* of August 14. Here is what he says:

"The Zionist Congress in Zurich must make all Jews, proud of their people, blush with shame.

"They will assert *their* rights to Palestine. *They* will obtain their rights. From whom? The British government.

"The British government, to whom Palestine does not belong, is called on to keep its promise, which it had no right to make, by forcing the inhabitants, to whom the country does belong, to give it to the Zionists.

"The Zionists are modern; go-ahead, destiny is on their side; Arabs are backward, lazy, barbaric, and will be benefited by the invaders. The Zionists claiming Palestine speak with the accents of Mussolini claiming an empire, or Hitler, or Japan in China. . . .

"Realists among the Zionists are aware, and say frankly, that their *one card is to play good little combination excuse-policeman for the British Empire.* They are not realist enough to reflect on what happened to the Assyrian, who did the same thing, when the British Empire had no more use for him.

"Jews who were not Jewish Nazis would know their only 'right' in Palestine is such that they can negotiate with liberated Arabs and share in equal and non-exclusive citizenship there with all inhabitants, not discriminating."

Ivor Montagu is right. The only "right" of the Jews in Palestine is to cooperate with the Arabs in the building up of a prosperous Arab state. If only they will understand this and act accordingly how much better it will be, not only for them, but for the Jewish population throughout the world.

For all of us must participate in the struggle to secure for Jewish men and women in the land of their birth or adoption equal rights to citizenship as any other citizens. This must apply in Germany, in Poland and in all other countries. Only in the land of triumphant

socialism, the U.S.S.R., has an end been put both to all kinds of national oppression and to anti-Semitism. The U.S.S.R. represents a real fraternal alliance of the peoples. The Jews throughout the world have made a contribution to the advance of civilization of which they can be rightly proud. Cooperation of the Gentiles with the Jews must take the place of the criminal anti-Semitism that is being so vigorously fostered in certain European countries at the present time.

But the struggle to establish the rights of the Jews in Germany, Poland and elsewhere cannot be aided if the Jews allow themselves to be used by the British imperialists for the purpose of depriving the Arabs of their rights. On the contrary the greatest possible injury will thereby be inflicted on the Jewish cause.

Therefore, I appeal to all Jewish men and women, as one long associated with them in the fight against persecutions and slander, to give no support to the attempt that is being made to carve up Palestine. Palestine is the country of the Arabs. An independent Arab state guaranteeing full and equal citizenship to Jewish men and women will do a thousand times more for the Jews throughout the world than any alliance with British imperialism can ever do.

In unity with the Arabs, establishing a strong democratic legislative assembly, building up the economic life of the country, and in this the Jews can give an extraordinary contribution, developing its culture and general well-being—in this way Palestine can become a prosperous and happy country and the unity established there can be the forerunner of a greater unity throughout the world.

No partition of Palestine, but Palestine as an independent Arabian state, for this all honest Jews and all lovers of freedom, man and woman, must fight.

Reply to the Enemies, Slanderers and Wavering Elements

BY DOLORES IBARRURI

COMRADES and friends of Valencia, anti-fascists throughout the whole of Spain!*

If we compare the present situation with what existed in the country in July, 1936, we can be satisfied, although at the same time profoundly aware of the terrible sacrifices which have had to be made as a result of the mistaken military policy of the previous governments; as a result of the fact that these governments did not understand the urgent need for making a thorough purge of the rear.

Three days have hardly passed since I returned from heroic Madrid, from that tragic city, from the fronts of Brunete, Quijorna, Villanueva de la Canada and Villanueva del Pardillo. The appearance and splendid spirit of our fighters convinced me that we have a tried and tested army capable of crushing fascism in our country, of driving out the invaders, of destroying in their own nests the bloody fascist executioners who aim to transform Spain into a huge concentration camp and to introduce fascist "civilization" at the bayonet point into countries which call themselves democratic and which systematically capitulate to the fascist governments. These democratic countries should remember the words of a great thinker who said "Peoples die not out of weakness, but out of cowardice." These words today assume exceptional urgency and will serve as an example to future generations and as a source of shame to those who now settle the fate of these countries and have left us to our own fate.

A few days after the military-fascist rebellion broke out, the Communist Party, which made a profound analysis of the factors operating in our struggle, defined our war not only as a civil war called into being by the enemies of the people, and consequently a war for social liberation, but also as a war for the *maintenance of our national independence*, a war against the forces of intervention which are aiming to divide our country between them.

The months of war that have gone by have given the clearest proof of the correctness of our Party, of the justice of its assertions. It is clear to all today that Franco and the remaining perfidious generals have been pushed into the background in the leadership of the struggle against our people. Fighting against our men are not only the people whom the traitors to our native land on our own territory have succeeded in recruiting, but also regular troops of Italy and Germany. And it is no accident that Italy and Germany are sending all the most up-to-date military equipment, their most tested military leaders, their most reliable shock troops into our country.

Now it is no longer a question of aid being rendered to traitors who have risen up in revolt against the Republic and against Spain, but of a plan to divide

* Abridged stenogram of speech by Comrade Dolores Ibarruri at a meeting in Valencia on August 10, 1937.

up the riches of our country; to seize all the sources of raw material that exist in our country; to divide Spain; to transform our native land into a colony of foreign powers, to transform it into a strategic base for the world war being prepared by the fascist firebrands.

But neither the traitors who rose up in revolt on July 18, nor the fascist powers which think of dividing our country between them know of the greatness, of the feeling of self-sacrifice and of the heroism of our people. They have heard of Spain of the Castanets, of the fatalistic submission of our people, but they do not know that—side by side with the thousand-year woe inherited from past generations as a result of the slavery forced on the people by the ruling castes aided by the church leaders—an ardent feeling of independence and an indomitable love for liberty dwell in the hearts of all Spanish men and women. They have forgotten that Spain has already outlived one war for its independence and that our people have inscribed the heroic and glorious pages of Gerona, Saragossa, Bilen and Madrid in history; that it is not so long since they also succeeded in inscribing the golden pages of the glorious October of Asturias in the revolutionary history of the proletariat. They do not know our people.

After a year of the war, however, they have begun to understand that the Spain of the Castanets is the fruit of their own stupidity and fevered imagination. Their own experience has succeeded in convincing them that the army made up of ill-clothed, semi-starving and poorly armed people succeeded in burying German divisions at Jarama, and in wiping out Italian divisions on the fields of Guadalajara. They gradually discovered what we were through a year of struggle. But we also have learnt something during this year. We have learnt to recognize those who want to stamp the slavish sign of fascism in letters of fire on the brows of our people; those whose design it is to yoke the masses of our people to the shameful chariot-wheel of fascist slavery. We have also learned to know the worth of those who cover themselves in the colorless and mouldy clothes of democracy, so as to shamelessly serve the interests of fascism.

The reactionary bourgeoisie and the conservative elements in the governments of the bourgeois-democratic countries are well aware that the big landlords who enslave peasants no longer exist on the territory of Republican Spain; they are well aware that there are no longer any bankers there who enrich themselves by usury and at the expense of the humble savings of the people; they are well aware that the workers are no longer exploited in the factories by voracious capitalism; they are well aware that after our victory Spain, which has been a hundred years behind the democratic countries of Europe, will begin to outdistance them, and therefore they do not wish our people to live a democratic life. This is the chief cause of the cunning tricks of the notorious Non-Intervention Committee, and also of all the waverings of the governments of the bourgeois-democratic countries in connection with the question of allowing our people and our government to acquire all that they need for the war, as they have a right to.

Our workers, our peasants and the whole of our people should know what has been and is now the position of the governments of these countries. They should know of the crime committed—and we shall never forgive those guilty of it—when Irun fell because there were no bullets left, whereas a few kilometers away from Irun, on the other side of the Spanish border, there stood wagons filled with millions of bullets for the rifles of our fighters. Our people should know who (and why) held back on French territory the planes sent by our government to the aid of the Basque Country—when the latter urgently begged for aid so as not to fall in unequal struggle. We shall never succeed in forgiving the crimes committed against the Spanish Republic.

As against the cowardliness of some and the secret maneuvers of others there stands forth the victorious land of socialism, the Soviet Union, which not only defends the interests of the Spanish people firmly and resolutely before the whole

world, but also uninterruptedly gives us the clearest proof of its solidarity.

The enemies of the Spanish people are attempting to call into being a separatist movement in Catalonia with a view to carving up Republican Spain. They are attempting to prove to some people that Catalonia can live under a French protectorate, just as the Basque country can become a British protectorate, just as Majorca and certain Spanish ports in the Mediterranean Sea can pass into the hands of Italy, and just as Morocco, part of the Canary Islands and other Spanish possessions can be yielded to Germany. These plans are well known in the so-called upper circles of international politics. We wish to direct the attention of our people to these *secret designs of international fascism;* I repeat, I say secret designs because if these things were spoken of openly, the agents of the enemy in Catalonia and throughout Spain would be wiped off the face of the earth. Therefore, be on guard and keep a careful watch on those who fall for this bait of ending the war in Catalonia or in any other part of the country. The mark of treachery can be seen on all this.

Our people should know of the base machinations of these elements, whose actions are calculated to introduce disruption behind our lines, to hinder the work of the government of the People's Front and to create difficulties so as to clear the way for the foreign intervention in our country, intervention which means the parceling out of Spain.

In order to fulfil these treacherous plans they wish to destroy the influence of the Communist Party, and to achieve this they stop at nothing. What is the main accusation advanced against our Party? We are accused of "hunting for souls." They do not say of our Party that it "hunts for souls" by seizing the houses occupied by workers and by forcing the payment of rent under the threat of throwing them on the streets as was done in days gone by, by the former house-owners; they do not say of our Party that it compels the peasants to join collective farms under the threat of arms which could be made better use of at the front; they do not say of our Party that it establishes committees which live at the expense of the factory workers.

They say of our Party that it "hunts for souls" at the front. So there, comrades, I want to let you into a secret. I myself while at the front near Madrid spent my time "hunting for souls." And what is more, I did so from the very beginning of the military operations. I went to the men who had been sent into battle, and of whom the majority belonged to the Communist Party, to remind them that they were members of our Party, to tell them that they must sacrifice themselves, that they must not spare their lives in defense of the Republic, and they must hold aloft the banner of the People's Front and of our Party . . . that they must sacrifice themselves so that their wives and children may live a free life, in peace and well-being.

And these people who went to face death replied with the greatest of enthusiasm: "Tell our comrades of the Central Committee that we shall be able to hold high the banner of the Party, that we shall be able to hold aloft the banner of the Republic and that we shall fight without sparing ourselves so as to help the Northern front, so as to compel the enemy to withdraw his troops from there, so that our comrades in the Basque country, Santander and Asturias may be able to reorganize and consolidate their forces and so that the children and women of Madrid may be able to sleep in peace, because we shall exert all our energy to drive the enemy back from the gates of the capital of the Republic."

There you have the "hunting for souls" in which I engaged. And these people who maintained their honor as Communists by promising to fight to the last drop of their blood, beat off during a period of three weeks, and I saw it myself, the most furious attacks that ever took place in this war; they fought manfully and did not yield an inch of their ground until they received the order to retreat, because, as the rebels themselves have admitted, the enemy

fired ten thousand shells on Brunete during these attacks, not counting aerial bombardments.

And when, on orders from the High Command, these people retreated in order to straighten out the front I went there again so as to acquaint myself with their morale and political state of mind, I found them just as they were before the offensive, full of the ardent desire to renew the fight against the enemy as soon as they received the command. But when I saw the devastation in the ranks of our comrades, I had to struggle with myself in order to withhold the sobs that were stifling me. At the same time I clenched my fists and choked with indignation at the memory of the foul campaigns carried through in the press against these heroes.

And so if you engage in "hunting for souls" it means to fight best of all; if you engage in "hunting for souls" it means to send the best people in our Party to the fronts and to work in the rear, and if to engage in "hunting for souls" means to do heroic deeds as was shown by our comrades from Malaga, then I vow to you, comrades, that we shall continue to engage in this "hunting for souls" in the future as well. These people will have to be put on trial, and I can assure you that some of those who occupy very high posts will have to face, if not a firing squad then at least a tribunal.

We quite well understand the source of the hatred which is felt toward our Party; but we want the fact burned in letters of gold in the mind of every worker and every peasant that those who fight against the Communist Party, however picturesque the banners behind which they hide, are enemies of our revolution and of our people.

We are on the eve of great battles. Fascism has no intention of releasing from its claws the booty which it has seized, and which it already considers its own; and we on our part have no intention of allowing fascism to fulfil its criminal plans. But in order to prepare for those big battles which await us in the very near future, it is necessary to organize not only the army which has succeeded in becoming steeled in battle, but also *order in the rear.* An end must be put once and for all to the carelessness and flippancy that exist in the rear. Places still exist which have not yet been reached by the sound of the war, and where people consider it a burden to provide a few refugees with food and shelter.

There are those who think it possible to live their lives apart from the war, and to use the war only for their own personal gain. We must get clear on the point that if our army is to carry on a successful fight, those behind the lines are in duty bound to provide it with all that is necessary.

Above all, it is necessary to put an end once and for all to the "Fifth Column." We have already grown hoarse with constantly repeating this, and we hope that the government will at last hear us. This "Fifth Column" as Comrade Jose Diaz has said, is such a long one that for some reason or other its end cannot to this day be seen. We must help the government in its work of purging the rear, and, in addition, each one of us in particular must be watchful regarding those who surround us. All sentimentality must be cast aside, and we must, without any wavering, expose all those whom we suspect of hostility to our system.

An end must be put to the leveling of wages. The workers must receive sufficient to enable them completely to satisfy their elementary requirements. But an end must be put to the leveling of wages. A correct wage scale must be established and every worker paid according to his output. You cannot say to the workers: "Sacrifices must be made, and therefore you should not ask for wage increases" —when we see that people who profiteer on the hunger of the people, that unscrupulous tradesmen and various committees which desire to grow rich at the expense of the people raise prices to an unheard of degree on articles of prime necessity.

War must be declared on the profiteers! People who trade on the hunger of the population must be hunted down like

wild animals. We must see to it that the government—and we hope and know that the government is ready to do this—puts an end to those who refuse to take account of the efforts of the workers and screw up prices to such a degree that they cause discontent among the people. And we must tell the government that in this work of cleansing the rear, all the anti-fascist forces of Spain will be on their side and help them; and we must remember that the history of our country provides splendid examples of how to behave toward those who violate the law, who do not subordinate themselves to the laws issued in the interests of the people.

We must get rid of all enemies and their hangers-on! Every one of us should place the interests of the war above all other interests. Those people who rest on their past revolutionary services and consciously or unconsciously help fascism in fulfilling its plans behind our lines must be told that we shall not permit them to engage in disruptive work. And those workers who still doubt whether these people are capable of serving the interests of the enemies of the people must be reminded of the living examples of history. Was not Mussolini once the editor of the Socialist Paper *Avante*, and Bordiga the leader of the Italian Maximalist Group? Yet Mussolini is the leader of fascism today while Bordiga is his henchman.

Why can't the same thing happen in Spain? The facts go to show us one thing, namely, that among the people who formerly fought in the ranks of the proletariat, there are those who are now on the other side of the barricades, while others of them who remained in the ranks of the proletariat serve the interests of the enemy by their opposition to unity and by disorganizing and sabotaging the work of the government.

When we point to the need for a struggle against Trotskyism, we meet with a very strange phenomenon, for voices are raised in its defense in the ranks of certain organizations and among certain circles in certain parties. These voices belong to people who themselves are saturated with this counter-revolutionary ideology. The Trotskyists have long been transformed into the agents of fascism, into the agents of the German Gestapo. We saw this in practice during the May putsch in Catalonia; we saw this clearly in the rebel outbreaks in various other localities. And everybody will see this when the trial begins against the P.O.U.M. leaders who were caught in their spying activity. And we see the hand of fascism in all the actions which are directed toward demoralizing our rear, toward undermining the authority of the Republic. Therefore it is essential that we destroy Trotskyism with a firm hand, for Trotskyism is no longer a political trend in the working class, but a weapon of the counter revolution.

Trotskyism must be rooted out of the proletarian ranks of our Party as one roots out poisonous plants. The Trotskyists must be rooted out and destroyed like wild beasts, for otherwise at each decisive moment when our men wish to undertake the offensive, we shall be unable to begin because of disorders provoked by the Trotskyists in the rear. An end must be put to these traitors once and for all, so that our men at the front may be able to fight without fearing that they will be stabbed in the back.

But if all these tasks are to be fulfilled, if the work of organizing industry is to be fulfilled; if the needs of the front and the rear are to be satisfied; if the rear is to be thoroughly purged of enemies, one basic condition must be satisfied, one of which Comrades Palao and Camorera have already spoken. Comrade Camorera has told us of the great significance for Catalonia of the establishment of a united party of the proletariat, and although we never rest content with the work that has already been done (because we always think that much more could be done), in general we are satisfied with the work done by our United Party of Catalonia. We also point, and not only now but have long done so, to *the need for uniting the two proletarian parties into a single party of the proletariat.*

We have on many occasions spoken of

the character of our struggle, of the significance of our revolution, and we have always asserted that in the bourgeois-democratic revolution the proletariat fulfils the historic mission of rallying all the democratic forces around itself so as to arouse them to march shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary vanguard. The proletariat will only succeed in fulfilling this task if it is united as a class both in the political and trade union fields. And then all anti-fascists will advance in a solid front with greater rapidity towards the great, prosperous and happy Spain for which our people are now shedding their blood.

Therefore our Party, a Party which has succeeded in becoming a tremendous political force in Spain, understands that it is essential to move rapidly toward the merging of the two parties so as to be able to give successful leadership to the war and to ensure victory for the revolution taking place in our country. From the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party we have met a strong desire to bring about this merger, but within the Socialist Party voices have been raised of people who do not agree, of people who but yesterday considered themselves to be leading figures and who, not daring to oppose the general will of the workers, spoke of unity. However, in spite of these individual voices, the striving for unity is so great among the rank and file of the Socialist Party that certain organizations, as, for example, in Albacete, have already established not liaison committees but merger committees, and now jointly discuss all problems directed toward the defense of the interests of the proletariat.

Details and trifles must be put aside. We must not give way to feelings of personal injury. We must rise above these petty personal disagreements which spur on some people to oppose unity, and remember that the individual person by himself is nothing, that the people are everything, and we must remember the common interests of our people.

Every one of you must become a resolute fighter for liberty—and follow his leaders when they are filled with the spirit of unity and march along with you; but you must advance without leaders when they create obstacles, and pass over their heads when they oppose the unity of the proletariat.

Comrades, the Communist Party is once again showing you the way to victory, namely: The rear cleansed of the fascists; industry working for defense; the village working intensively; the proletariat satisfied with their position and conscious that they will never any more be a source of exploitation; the People's Front uniting all the anti-fascist forces; a united party of the proletariat, which in alliance with all anti-fascist forces leads the revolution in our country.

Impress deeply on your minds the line indicated by the Communist Party for the achievement of victory, and after you become convinced of the correctness of our line, after you perceive that the Communist Party does not limit itself to mere general slogans, but that at the cost of the sacrifices made by our people it clothes these slogans in flesh and blood, after you have done so—come to us, workers of Valencia and throughout Spain so that with your help we may be able to lead you to final victory.

Fascist-Trotskyite Espionage and Diversion Against the Spanish Republic

BY B. ELLENO

ALONGSIDE the open fight being waged by the fascists against Republican Spain, another secret campaign unprecedented in scope and vileness is being waged. The statement made by the official leader of the fascist cutthroats, Franco, to the effect that "four columns" are advancing from the front against the Spanish people, while the "fifth column" is fighting in the rear, is sufficient to show the important place given by the fascists to diversionist struggle carried on in secret.

The German and Italian fascists are participating in this secret war, which is led and financed by specialists in espionage, diversion and conspiracies.

For their "great deeds" they have found excellent helpers in the wretched Trotskyite scoundrels. They have bought over the diplomatic representatives and individual employees of the representatives of a number of small states. They make wide use of Roman Catholic priests for their spying and diversionist activities. All this army of human refuse is used against the Spanish people.

In one year of fighting in Republican Spain, ninety-seven fascist-Trotskyite organizations and groups engaged in spying-diversionist activity and conspiracies were discovered and liquidated. These organizations numbered in all about 6,500 members. These figures are particularly striking when one remembers that during the imperialist war of 1914 to 1918, all the belligerent countries had about 45,000 spies and diversionist agents, of whom about 1,000 were found out, arrested and executed.

It is only in recent months that a more or less vigorous struggle has been launched against fascist-Trotskyist spies and diversionists in Republican Spain. It was only on June 14, 1937, that the President of the Republic signed a decree creating a "Special State Information Service" under the Ministry of Home Affairs.

On June 22, 1937, the Minister of Justice for Republican Spain decreed that a "special tribunal" should be set up to deal with espionage and fixed the sentences for spying activities at from six years' imprisonment to the death penalty. On July 4, 1937, the government decided to create a special service for military counter-espionage in the War Ministry.

Up to the present time, *martial law has not been declared* in Spain. In many spheres of state life of great importance for defense, the mild laws and regulations of peacetime, with all their slowness of procedure, are still in operation.

Although all these fascist bandits are "working" in Spain for one master and with one aim—the enslavement of the Spanish people — certain distinctions may be drawn between their various organizations and their methods of carrying on their spying and diversionist work. The organizations are in the main:

1. The German spy organizations
2. The Italian spy organizations

3. The Trotskyite spy organizations
4. Franco's spy organizations.

* * *

The German spy organizations in Spain set the pace for all the other spy organizations. The documents of the German spy organizations which were captured in Barcelona and published in part in Spielhagen's book, *Spies and Conspirators in Spain*, show that the preparation of the military fascist revolt was actually carried through by German secret service organizations. One of the first espionage and diversionist organizations discovered by the Republican authorities in Madrid (July, 1936), had at its head the Germany spy Xlaus, who led and directed the spying and diversionist activities of 300 Spanish traitors.

Two years before Franco's rebellion, Germany had opened a consulate in Tetuan (Spanish Morocco), with an officer of the German General Staff, Brosch, as consul. There were altogether about thirty Germans resident in the town, while the consulate had fourteen employees. Brosch used to give luxurious receptions and banquets to which he invited mostly Spanish military officers. A German engineer called Langeheim, who knew Spanish and Arabic perfectly, also came to live in Tetuan. Brosch devoted himself to espionage and "working on" the Spanish army, while Langeheim undertook to "work on" the Arab Sheiks. Langeheim even had a special printshop in his house for printing fascist proclamations in Arabic.

In November, 1936, a spy organization was discovered in the zone of the Biscay front and the eleven members arrested. The leader of this organization was a German, Kulden, and his immediate assistant was Wolfgang Eichsnatten, nephew of the well-known German spy and diplomat, Von Papen.

At the same time, a German spy organization was discovered in Cartagena, the leader of which was the German Consul, Karl Friek.

When de la Puento Arevalo was arrested in Madrid in 1936, a note was found on him addressed to the former leader of the "Spanish Phalanx," Primo de Rivera, recommending to the latter the German subject Gustav Reder-Indelein. At Reder's place many letters were found in German and Spanish, as well as fascist literature and newspapers. Documents found showed that Reder was appointed and sent by the German government as "leader of propaganda and the press" in Spain.

Early in 1937 a spy organization was discovered in Barcelona headed by a German officer, Guntz, who was married to the daughter of a Spanish rebel general. Guntz did spying work and organized gun-running on behalf of the rebels. The representative of the "Junkers" firm, Rodasch, was an agent of Guntz's.

The impudence of the German spies went so far that one of them, Hugo Walter, a correspondent of the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, told in his paper how he *illegally* went to Catalonia, got a letter of introduction in Barcelona "to a consul of another country"—the introduction being sent on by special post, by diplomatic courier; how, when on Spanish territory, he passed as a Frenchman, an Englishman, and sometimes as a deaf-mute, etc.

In the beginning of 1937, the German intelligence service began to establish bases in France for spying against Spain.

According to information published in the French press, this spying organization had its headquarters in a fashionable hotel in Paris. The head of the organization was Lieutenant-Colonel Karl von Rau of the Germany army, one of Franco's staff. His assistant in Paris is one Prosper de Calejon, private secretary to the former Spanish Consul Chinones de Leon, now Franco's "representative" in Paris. The staff of this "representative" consists of fifteen people and occupies several rooms in this hotel. In order to get in to see de Calejon, one has to present a letter written on the official paper of the German embassy in Paris and signed by the Naval Attache of the Embassy, Litzmann. There are also branches of this German spy organization in St. Jean de Luz, Dax and Biarritz.

Apart from this, there is a large number of other German spy agents living in Paris. For instance, a certain de la Casa lived in the Prince of Wales hotel in Paris with a German woman spy, a singer. De la Casa got his Spanish passport from Franco. Actually he is a German, his real name being Victor Heffner, and he is a pilot by profession, expelled from the Spanish republic as a suspicious character.

Agents of this spy organization were to be found in all of the French ports, collecting information about ships arriving and departing from these ports and passing this information on to the rebels. This information was used by the rebels for intercepting vessels en route for the ports of the Spanish republic.

When the Non-Intervention Committee decided to establish a system of naval control in Spanish waters, the German government assigned the organization of "control" to the chief of the intelligence service of the Naval General Staff, the former spy and diversionist, Admiral Canaris. Canaris had taken a most active part in organizing the fascist revolt in Spain. Then, as a specialist in espionage and diversionist activity, he organized a spy service for Franco, handing over this job later to the German fascist, Karl von Rau, while he himself became head of the German group of naval "controllers" in Spanish waters.

In Cartagena and the other ports the German control ships constantly watch all the movements of the Republican navy. Their hydroplanes frequently fly over the coast, the bay and even over the districts in the rear, at a height at which photographs can easily be taken. When a Republican squadron leaves the port, it is followed by a German cruiser or hydroplane. As soon as the latter has found out what route the squadrons are taking, it sends code information by radio to the rebel navy.

The German-controlled hydroplanes very often swoop down on trading vessels. Usually, an hour or two after these planes appear, they are followed by others which throw bombs, or by a rebel cruiser which captures the ship. In a year, the rebels seized in this way cargo worth over one thousand million pesetas.

These are only a few instances of the manifold espionage activities of the German intelligence organizations against the Spanish republic.

* * *

The Italian intelligence service is carrying on its spying work against the Spanish republic alongside the German intelligence service. Documents found on the premises of the Italian General Consul in Barcelona bear clear testimony to this fact.

As far back as October, 1928, Grandi, who was then Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, wired to the Italian General Consul in Barcelona:

"I request you to cable me in code from February 1, 1929, all information concerning the arrivals and departures of foreign warships in the Mediterranean ports of Spain."

The Italian general consulate in Barcelona was all the time in the closest contact with local Spanish fascist organizations. Two months before the outbreak of the revolt, the consul in Palma was the chief guest at a celebration got up by the Monarchist and fascist organizations, "Spanish Regeneration" and "Traditionalists," (Carlists), in honor of "the victory of Italian arms in Ethiopia."

In February, 1937, a big spy organization was smashed in Barcelona by the Spanish authorities. Investigations established the fact that it had been founded by the Italian general consulate before its departure from Barcelona. The leader of the whole espionage service of the former Italian consulate was arrested, as were subsequently many persons occupying important positions in the Spanish government's broadcasting stations, the harbor boards, on the frontiers, etc. Copies of secret military decrees were found, plans of coastal fortifications, data on the war industry, etc. All these documents were stolen by traitors to the Spanish people and prepared for dispatch to the Italian intelligence service.

In April, 1937, a number of men were arrested when trying to get across to the

rebels. Documents found on them showed them to be liaison agents of a big espionage, diversionist, conspiratorial organization. Further investigation showed that the headquarters of this organization were in Madrid. A watch was placed on a house where suspicious elements used to meet. One of the apartments in this house was occupied by a seamstress who worked for the Madrid aristocracy. A secret door connected the kitchen of this apartment with the room where her brother, Felix Ciris, lived. The brother was a member of the "Spanish Phalanx," and of another Hitler-type of fascist organization, "Hons." Here was discovered a large number of documents on the structure and membership of the group of conspirators, and also a copy-book in which the names of the leaders of district groups, liaison agents, rank-and-file members of the organization, and addresses of secret agents were written in code. Instructions printed on a duplicator concerning the carrying out of acts of sabotage and terrorism were also found.

From the captured documents and from statements made by those arrested, it transpired that the organization was run by a local committee of three members, which appointed the liaison agents, who in their turn appointed the heads of the district groups. The latter undertook the recruiting of new members. The members of the organization were divided into civilians liable to be called up, armed and unarmed military men, and informers. The "armed military men" were fascists holding posts of command in the Republican Army. The "unarmed military men" were fascists who were not in the army.

This organization was financed chiefly by Catholic organizations from abroad, mainly from Italy. The money was got by monks. The organization forged passes, workers' and employees' certificates, official notepaper and stamps.

In a boarding house in San Bernardo Street, from the windows of which a view could be had of the southwest sector of the Madrid front, the police discovered special mirrors which spies used for signaling information to the rebels. In all, over seventy members of this organization were arrested.

In June, 1937, the French police discovered an organization which was planning to blow up the bridge in Serber on the Spanish frontier. Investigation showed that this quite large diversionist terrorist organization is being financed by fascist Italy. The Italian Campelli, when arrested, testified that he not only meant to blow up the bridge on the Spanish border, but also to throw a bomb into the Spanish consulate in Toulouse.

In July, 1937, according to the French newspaper *l'Oeuvre*, a special department was set up in the state printshop in Rome for making false Spanish passports, which are given to Italians who are being sent to Spain.

The Italian secret service has also got a "contract" from Franco to carry on espionage on his behalf in Mexico. This work is carried out by Italian consular employees who informed the Spanish rebels of the dispatch of cargo on the "Mar Cantabrico," which was subsequently seized by the rebels.

* * *

As early as the first half of 1936, the Spanish Communists had already given warning of the provocatory and spying activities of the Trotskyites.

In Spain the Trotskyites disguised themselves under the label of "Workers Party of Marxist Unity" (P.O.U.M.). The leader of this organization was Andre Nin, former secretary of the German spy and super-bandit, Trotsky. Attaching themselves to the rear of the anarcho-syndicalist movement, fed by the cast-offs of the big political parties, merging with the lumpen-proletarian elements in Barcelona, this bunch of international adventurers, professional spies, and provocateurs carried on their activities on a fairly wide scale up to the eve of the revolt. After the outbreak of the revolt, this gang hastily acquired the houses of the bourgeoisie who had fled, automobiles, money and arms, and carried on a fierce campaign against the People's Front, against a united party of the working class, against the forma-

tion of a regular army, and the maintenance of order in the rear, and against the Soviet Union.

In March, 1937, a fascist Trotskyist plot was discovered in Barcelona. The conspirators had planned to seize power in the town if the military situation became worse for the Republicans. They had an elaborate plan drawn up for the massacre of the workers, and special lists of names were prepared for this purpose.

The fascist Trotskyist organization was organized on the "three" principle, and carefully disguised. It used the official paper and stamps of the trade union organizations, and many of its members had membership cards belonging to different organizations and trade unions. It had arms and money at its disposal and maintained communications with Palma and Salamanca. The leaders of this group were regularly in touch with the fascist command and utilized the radio extensively.

One of the arrested men, Eduardo Garre, was at the same time one of the leaders of the Valencia branch of the Trotskyite organization, the P.O.U.M., and a prominent and active member of the "fifth column."

Investigations into the fascist Trotskyite conspiracy in Valencia had not been concluded when the Republican authorities came on the track of a similar organization in Madrid. In numbers, scope and technical means this organization excelled all preceding spy centers in Spain.

Over two hundred members of this organization were arrested in Madrid. Among these were staff officers of the front, artillery officers of mechanized troops, and of the Commissariat. The organization also had its agents in the information department of the war and naval ministry. Along with representatives of the old reactionary Spanish aristocracy and the "Spanish Phalanx," this organization also had leaders of the P.O.U.M. among its members. These, as well as doing spy work for Franco, were organizing an armed fascist rising in Madrid.

One can judge the character of the work done by these agents of Franco from one of the documents written in code on the back of a map of Madrid.

"To the Generalissimo in person. We are now in a position to give you all the information we possess on the movements of the Red units. The latest information sent by our transmitter shows a great improvement in our information service."

The successfully decoded part of the documents continues:

"Your order concerning the penetration of our people into the ranks of the extremists and the P.O.U.M. is being carried out successfully. . . . In carrying out your order, I was in Barcelona where I saw N—, a leading member of the P.O.U.M. I passed on all your instructions to him. The absence of contact between you and him is explained by the breakdown of his radio-transmitter, which had, however, begun to work again when I was there. You have probably received his reply on the main question. N— earnestly requests you and the foreign friends to have only myself as liaison agent between him and you. He has promised me that he will send fresh people to Madrid to organize the work of the P.O.U.M. more energetically. Thanks to these measures the P.O.U.M. in Madrid will become what it is in Barcelona, a real mainstay of our movement."

Early in May the Spanish Trotskyites organized another putsch, this time in Barcelona. This putsch, which was suppressed by the Catalonian government, was also undoubtedly organized on the instructions of Franco and the German and Italian interventionists to draw the forces and attention of Republican Spain away from the front, to alarm bourgeois circles in England and France with the specter of "anarchy" in Spain. It is significant that the German radio broadcast on May 3 that the Catalonian government was overthrown and that "anarchist elements" were in power. At the same time the notorious Seville butcher, General Queipo de Llano, addressing the Trotskyites of Catalonia over the radio, said: "We sympathize with you and will support you. Hold out!" And General

Franco ordered his air force to bomb the roads leading from Valencia to Catalonia.

During the trial of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite conspirators in Moscow, the Spanish Trotskyites committed a number of terrorist acts against Communists. On the night of a fascist air raid on Madrid, a band of Trotskyites took advantage of the darkness and basely assassinated a group of active Party members. In Catalonia, the Trotskyites attempted to assassinate the General Secretary of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, Comrade Camorera, and at the end of April, they murdered the secretary of the Catalonian General Workers Union, Roldan Cortado.

Plots to assassinate Jose Diaz, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Dolores Ibarruri, member of the Political Bureau of the Spanish Communist Party, and Azana, President of the Republic, and others—were discovered in time.

From the evidence published, it is obvious that the Spanish Trotskyites are a small group of bandits having no contact with the mass of the people. They all were and are hirelings of the Spanish and foreign fascists, obediently carrying out their instructions concerning spying and diversionist activity, and living at their expense.

* * *

The Spanish fascists, led by General Franco, have also their "own, independent" organizations for espionage and diversionist activity. They "work" not only in contact with, but on the advice of, the German and Italian intelligence services, often carrying out special instructions given by the latter.

In the beginning of October, 1936, two hundred members of a fascist organization were arrested at a secret meeting in Madrid.

In October of the same year, two other spy groups were also discovered in Madrid—these were operating in the city and at the airdrome of Getafe. The authorities had noticed that during rebel air raids on the capital someone was signaling by rockets from the village of Getafe. Similar signals were also given in Madrid itself.

In the latter half of October, another fascist spying-conspiratorial group was discovered in Madrid. This group met in the reading room of the national library in Madrid, pretending to be ordinary readers.

A military espionage organization of ex-gendarmes ("Guardia Civile") was also discovered. These were divided into groups of five according to place of residence, state institutions and buildings.

In October, 1936, in a number of districts in Madrid, some one started to distribute a very detailed questionnaire, ostensibly from the P.O.U.M., among the houses. The questionnaire had a lot of questions such as: to what party the person it was addressed to belonged, his political opinions; whether he had any arms; whom he knew and where, in what anti-fascist activities had he taken part at the front and in the rear, etc. Actually this was a complete cross-examination drawn up by the fascist secret service. Some of the "organizers of the questionnaire" were arrested, but several thousand forms, filled in by simple-minded people, completely disappeared.

In December, 1936, a secret broadcasting station which was informing the rebel staff of the position of ships in the port was discovered in Alicante. A couple of hours after the arrival of one vessel in Valencia, the Government broadcasting stations intercepted a message from a local underground fascist station. It was informing the rebel staff of the arrival of the ship, indicating where it lay in the port, the number of the pier, and the distance in meters from the entrance to the harbor.

A fascist spy center was discovered in Valencia, many members of which were officers on pension, or retired. Those who were arrested stated that there were two fascist organizations "working" in Valencia. One of these, known as the "Socorro Blanco" ("White Aid"), collected money to assist fascist families and to finance espionage. The second had as its object to obstruct the defense of Valencia in the event of a landing

of troops or of internal disorders. The head of this second organization was Alfredo Villegas, Marquis de San Vincente, Franco's personal representative. When arrested, he was in possession of a membership card of the National Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.), issued supposedly by the Union of Medical Workers, and also a large number of blank membership cards with the stamp of the same union. The majority of those arrested had genuine trade union cards, filled in with fictitious names and false statements, membership cards of political parties, and also certificates belonging to the Department of Social Insurance of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Fascist People's Front.

In March, 1937, a big fascist organization, "Espana Una" ("United Spain"), was discovered in Madrid. The aim of this organization was to kidnap a number of persons, including General Miaja, to sow discord between the anarcho-syndicalist National Confederation of Labor and the General Workers Union, and also to carry on military and political espionage.

In March, the head of the local section of the "Spanish Phalanx" was arrested in the neighborhood of Barcelona. From documents found on him the police established the whereabouts of the headquarters of this organization and installed a dictaphone there. In this way they were able to find out all about the work done by this headquarters staff. Finally, on the night of March 12, when the staff was gathered to see off a liaison officer who was being sent to Burgos with reports and to receive instructions, the police surrounded the house and arrested all the spies present, among whom were a few officers. A lot of material dealing with the fortifications of Catalonia was seized, as well as material on her war industry, cages with carrier pigeons, etc.

At the end of March, a group of about forty fascist spies and diversionists was arrested in Valencia.

The structure of the organization was based on the "three" principle: the chief organizer chose two assistants, each of whom in turn chose two assistants, and so on. In this way the fascists hoped to attain the maximum of secrecy.

This organization was financed through the "White Aid," which collected money secretly in bourgeois circles on behalf of people "who had suffered from the revolution."

In May, the Republican police discovered a nest of spies in the recently opened military school in Paterna (Valencia Province). Among the arrested was a doctor belonging to the Naval Ministry who had been ship's doctor not long before this on a vessel in the naval base of Cartagena. This doctor and his five brothers kept the rebel staff regularly supplied with information about the movements of Republican ships. In Tertos, a secret transmitting station which kept in contact with the rebel staff was discovered.

A secret transmitter was discovered in Madrid in the apartment of a certain Briones.

On July 29, nearly one hundred fascists and spies were arrested in Madrid.

It is a well-known fact that the fall of Malaga was the result of the treachery of certain elements who had wormed their way into the General Staff of the Republican Army. Treachery on the northern front also helped the fall of Bilbao.

The instances we have quoted are far from exhausting the list of spying and diversionist groups and organizations, working for the rebels, which have been discovered in Spain. We have cited only the most characteristic examples which give an idea of the wide extent of the subversive activity of the rebels, of how it is organized, of its agents, and the technique and practice of fascist diversionist activity in the Republican rear.

* * *

From what sections of the Spanish people do the rebels and their foreign masters, the German and Italian fascists, pick their spies, diversionists and conspirators?

In the first place, notwithstanding all the "purges" and arrests, there is still *a great number of fascist political and military leaders* left on Republican soil.

In Madrid alone, at the beginning of

the rebellion, there were nearly *4,000 retired officers* who had been pensioned off in 1931 according to the "Azana Act," with a pension equal to two-thirds of their former pay. Some of these succeeded in fleeing to the rebels, while a few were caught communicating with the rebels and arrested. The remainder stayed at home, not placing themselves at the disposal of the new Republican Army, but not fighting openly against it. The political sympathies and intentions of the overwhelming majority of these people were quite evident.

After them come the retired gendarmes, the "Guardia Civile"—the old Monarchist police force which survived under the republic up to September, 1936. After the disbanding of the "Guardia Civile," a number of the gendarmes joined the newly formed Republican Guard. The others, in expectation of "better times," became watchmen, doorkeepers, waiters, etc. Their families went on living near the "Guardia Civile" barracks, now the barracks of the Republican Guard.

To all these must be added the *comparatively large group of "active" members of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and landed aristocracy.* Here also to a great extent belong civil servants of the Monarchist and fascist republican regime who had been dismissed but left at liberty, *shareholders of the big nationalized enterprises, clerics, a number of relatives and friends of refugee or arrested fascists.* These people were eager to help the rebel army, either so as to free their relatives or simply from a desire for vengeance.

Here, too, belong the *colossal army of priests, monks and other "holy men," numbering 200,000.* We must not forget that in Spain, according to 1928 statistics, there were 71,353 religious buildings—churches, chapels and monasteries. With a few exceptions (the priests of the Basque country and Galicia), the clergy support the fascists, fight against Republican Spain, and act as a reserve for the recruitment of fascist spies and diversionists.

* * *

The Spanish people and its organs of public safety are waging a ruthless campaign against the fascists' "fifth column." The Spanish people, while carrying on the fight against the spying and diversionist groups of the fascists, interventionists and their Trotskyite hirelings, are at the same time getting to know the aims, objects, the practice and technique of these "secret forces." The Spanish Communist Party is here, too, in the vanguard of the struggle. In one of the issues of the newspaper *Frente Rojo*, a long article on this question concludes with the words:

"At the fronts and in the rear, in the factories, on the streets and at home, there is one thing that is not to be forgotten for a single minute:

"Don't chatter: The enemy is listening to you!"

In Memory of the Fallen Fighters of the International Brigade in Spain

THOMAS GIBBONS

IN JULY, 1937, Thomas Gibbons met his death in Spain fighting in the ranks of the British Battalion of the International Brigade.

He was born in Scotland, and very early in life, Thomas Gibbons experienced to the full the hardships of working class life. The family consisted of the father, a shipyard worker, the mother, formerly employed in the local dyeworks, four sons and two daughters—all lived in a one-room house. In 1914 the mother died, and later in the same year, the father joined the army, and the six children, of whom the eldest was thirteen years old, were left to the care of kindly working class neighbors.

In 1917, Thomas Gibbons entered a Clydeside shipyard and commenced work as a rivet boy. He soon became adept at his work and even to this day many old worker riveters in the Vale of Leven speak with pride of his abilities and energy. He was not long, however, in the shipyard before the rivet boys declared a strike in which he played a leading part. For this, he was "rewarded" by being discharged from work.

Then followed long months of unemployment which ultimately, in 1923, drove him into the British army. With his regiment, the Seaforth Highlanders, he was drafted to India where he spent six years.

On finishing his term with the regular army, he entered the army reserve. Because of his association with his brothers who during his sojourn in India had joined the Communist Party, the army authorities considered him "unfit" for "His Majesty's Reserve." And so he received a curt notice that his "services were no longer required." In this way he was deprived of the five years' reserve pay to which he was entitled.

Shortly after his discharge in 1930, Comrade Thomas Gibbons wrote an article in the *Daily Worker* in which he told the truth regarding the conditions under which private soldiers live in British India.

The lack of work in his native district directed his steps to London at the end of 1930.

In London (St. Pancras District), he joined the Communist Party and took an active part in the big unemployed struggles during 1931 and the ensuing years, displaying particular courage in the fight against the police terror.

When in 1936, the call came for British workers to go to the aid of heroic Madrid, Thomas Gibbons was among the first to respond, joining the British Battalion in which he fought until his death.

Two of his brothers are in the International Brigade. The eldest, Denny, was wounded in the severe battle at Jarama in February this year, and Joseph, the youngest, who emigrated to America in search of work, is in Spain fighting in the ranks of the American Battalion of the International Brigade.

Thomas Gibbons was an ordinary rank and filer. In the example of him and his brothers who went to the aid of the Spanish people, as of the hundreds of others in the International Brigade, there is to be seen that supreme mani-

festation of proletarian solidarity and internationalism which is the guarantee that the forces of fascism and war will be crushed and driven out of Spain and defeated the world over.

DOMANSKY-DUBOIS

On August 25, Domansky-Dubois, senior doctor of the 35th division, was mortally wounded in the village of Quinto in Spain, during the Republican offensive on the Aragon front.

Domansky-Dubois was a Pole by origin who had lived for fifteen years in France. He was a Communist, member of Section 20 in Paris. He had a splendid revolutionary past. In 1923 he was a member of the Warsaw regional committee of the Young Communist League. During his sojourn in France, in Alsace, he was elected to the Strasbourg district Party committee. Wherever he was, he took part in the liberation struggle of the working people.

In 1936, Dubois set off for Spain to fight against bestial fascism.

How loyally Domansky-Dubois fulfilled his duties as senior doctor of the 14th brigade! There were insufficient medicants, insufficient field medical depots in the units. Domansky-Dubois displayed extreme energy and ingenuity in removing the wounded, never allowing them to remain for long without help on the field of battle. He personally supervised the organization of field first-aid depots. Not a single wounded man remained for more than an hour on the field of battle, being quickly carried off and given the necessary aid. It was without fear or hesitation that he would go into the line of fire to see for himself how the work was proceeding and to introduce the necessary improvements.

He was a true commander. He knew his people, knew their wants, and understood their efforts and their weariness. For him food, the quality of the products consumed by the fighters, the supply of water to the men, were important questions with which he dealt with no less attention than he cared for the wounded on the field of battle and in hospitals. He often chatted with the wounded men, who came to the hospital after heavy fighting; he tried to understand their feelings, and did his utmost to relieve their sufferings. He was loved by all, because he was a real friend and comrade.

Domansky-Dubois was a highly skilled doctor and, at the same time, a political worker. He performed his duty modestly and heroically. He had been on all the fronts, at Cordoba, Madrid, Jarama, Sierra, and Brunete—where he was wounded in the shoulder by bomb splinters. While still sick from his wounds, and in spite of physical pain, he remained in the Escurial divisional hospital. He was in charge of the hospital which afforded tremendous assistance to the men of the International Brigades and the Spanish fighters.

No sooner had the fighting come to an end on that front than he was once more to be found on the Aragon front, where the Republican army undertook a victorious offensive and drove the rebels back. He was one of the first to set off for the village of Quinto which had just been taken by Republican troops, in order to supervise there the organization of medical services, to care for the fighters whose health and lives he so valued.

All the men of the 14th brigade, all the men of the 35th division—where he left behind him the very best remembrances—loved him like a brother. The Communists are proud to have had such a comrade, such a leader.

Domansky-Dubois met a hero's death. He died fighting against fascism, in the fight for liberty, democracy and peace. His memory will remain long in the minds of those who knew him, who worked with him.

Tasks of the National Anti-Japanese United Front in China

BY MAO TSE-TUNG

[*On May 3 to 7 a conference took place in the Soviet Region of China (Shensi province) composed of representatives of the Party organizations of the Soviet districts in China. Comrade Mao Tse-tung delivered an important speech there entitled: "Tasks of the National Anti-Japanese United Front in China at the Present Stage." Below, in a somewhat abbreviated form, we print the theses of the report made by Comrade Mao Tse-tung along with his concluding remarks.*

These speeches of Comrade Mao Tse-tung are of special interest now in the light of the events which have taken place in connection with the new aggression of Japanese imperialism and with which Comrade Mao Tse-tung dealt in the spring of this year. These events are the armed resistance being offered up by the Chinese army and people to the Japanese invaders; the agreement that has been reached between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China on a number of most important political questions; the inclusion of the Chinese People's Red Army in the ranks of the All-Chinese National Revolutionary Army.—THE EDITORS.]

THE JAPANESE AGGRESSOR IS THE CHIEF ENEMY OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

CHINA has long been in a state of violent struggle which arises out of the following two basic contradictions: the contradiction between imperialism and semi-colonial China and the contradiction between the feudal order and the masses of the people. During the last few years the contradictions between China and Japan have stood out among the general contradictions between China and imperialism, and have become intensified. In view of the fact that the Sino-Japanese contradictions are becoming the chief problem, the contradictions within the country are being relegated to a secondary and subordinate place.

As a result of the changes in the international situation and the fundamental changes within the country, a new stage is arising in the present development of China. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people are faced with the task of establishing an anti-Japanese national united front in China and of uniting it with all the forces engaged in the struggle for peace throughout the whole world. Our united front is an anti-Japanese national united front which does not at the same time attack the other imperialist powers. Our united front includes the bourgeoisie as well, includes all who are sincerely prepared to fight in the defense of our fatherland. It is the united front of the whole of the Chinese people against the Japanese aggressor.

FOR DEMOCRACY, SUCCESSFUL RESISTANCE TO JAPAN!

China is approaching the day when its fate is to be decided. If armed resistance against Japan is to be undertaken; if our country is to be saved, the political, military and economic preparation of our national defense must immediately be undertaken. The keystone of a successful anti-Japanese struggle by the

Chinese people is the winning of democratic liberites. Armed resistance requires peace and the unification of the forces within the country, but unless democratic liberties are allowed neither the peace gained nor the unification of the country's internal forces can be stable. Armed resistance requires the mobilization of the people, but unless there is democratic liberty this mobilization cannot be carried through. Without democracy in China, the task of establishing a real and firm anti-Japanese united front cannot be fulfilled.

Under the common slogan of the democratic republic in China, it is necessary immediately to carry through the following democratic reforms:

First, the political system of the despotic rule of one party and one class must be transformed into a democratic system based on the concerted struggle of various parties, classes and political groups against the common enemy of our native land. If this is to be achieved, it is necessary to change the present anti-democratic practice in the sphere of the elections and of the convening of a national assembly. We must secure the carrying through of democratic elections and the guarantee of liberty to convene a national assembly. With this as the starting point, a really democratic constitution should then be drawn up, a really democratic parliament called together, a really democratic government elected and a really democratic policy carried through.

It may also happen that the offensive of Japanese imperialism will begin before the above-mentioned measures have been finally carried through; therefore, in order to be able at any moment to resist the offensive of Japan and to achieve final victory, we must rapidly carry through this reform.

In addition, the complete fulfilment of the fundamental reform of the political administration in China must be prepared in the process of the armed resistance. During the few remaining months of this year, a wide democratic movement must be developed throughout China, its aim being to secure the convening of a national assembly and the drafting of a democratic constitution.

The democratic reform of the political administration and the guaranteeing of the people's liberties—freedom of the press, assembly, organization of political parties—are a most important part of the program of the anti-Japanese national united front, and at the same time are necessary conditions for the establishment of a real and firm national anti-Japanese front.

Our enemies—the Japanese imperialists, Chinese traitors, the pro-Japanese groups and the Trotskyites—are all doing everything possible to undermine the work of establishing peace and bringing about unification, of bringing democratic liberties into being, and are at every step hindering the development of the great revolutionary movement in the struggle against the Japanese aggressor. In the past, when we were engaged in the struggle for peace and unification, these enemies carried through intensive work to stir up internecine war and schism within China. Now, on the other hand, when we are engaged in the struggle for democratic liberties, the chief purpose of our enemy is to prevent armed resistance of the Chinese people in defense of our native land and thereby to help the Japanese aggressors.

With a view to establishing peace and democracy within the country, and the organization of armed resistance to Japan, with a view to establishing an anti-Japanese national united front, the Chinese Communist Party in its appeal to the Third Plenum of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang undertook these obligations:

"1. To cease the armed struggle to overthrow the Kuomintang government;

"2. To rename the Soviet government as the Special Area government of the Chinese Republic, and the Chinese Red Army as a National Revolutionary Army to be directly subordinate to the central Nanking government and the Commission for Military Affairs of the Nanking government;

"3. To introduce the democratic system of administration in the Special Region of the Chinese Republic;

"4. To put a stop to the confiscation of estates belonging to the landowners;

"5. Firmly to fulfil the common program of the united anti-Japanese national front."

These points are acceptable and necessary, for only if these conditions are carried into life is it possible to establish a new basis for the carrying through of national unification in the struggle against Japanese imperialism. By making these concessions we wish to achieve peace and democracy, and to secure armed resistance to Japan. But there are limits to concessions. Such a limit is: the maintenance of Communist leadership in the existing Soviet districts and in the Red Army; the maintenance of the independence of the Communist Party and its right to freedom of criticism in the relations between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang. In addition, concessions must be mutual. The Kuomintang ceases the internecine war, abolishes the system of dictatorship and the policy of non-resistance. The Communist Party gives up its policy of establishing dual power. Mutual concessions are necessary so as once again to bring about collaboration with the Kuomintang for the struggle against Japanese aggression and to save the country.

Will the Communist Party agree to the three principles of Sun Yat-sen? Our answer is in the affirmative, for the three principles of Sun Yat-senism have undergone historical changes. The three revolutionary principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, as a result of collaboration with the Communist Party and of the consistent operation of these principles, called forth the enthusiasm of the Chinese people and helped to develop the great revolution of 1925-27, but as a result of the operation by the Kuomintang of a policy that contradicted Sun Yat-sen's principles, and of the Communists being driven out of the Kuomintang, these principles gave rise to distrust toward them among the Chinese people. It was all this that led to the defeat of the revolution and to the national existence of China being threatened.

Now, as a result of the extremely tense situation, the Kuomintang can no longer rule in the old way. The Chinese people, and also the patriotic elements of the Kuomintang, have advanced the demand that has long matured, namely, collaboration between the two parties. Therefore, the revival of the revolutionary spirit, and the struggle for the three principles of Sun Yat-senism—*i.e.*, for national liberation and independence, for the power of the people and democratic liberty, and for the well-being of the people—on the condition of collaboration between the two parties—fully corresponds to the historical requirements of the Chinese revolution and must be clearly understood by every Communist.

Under no circumstances does the Communist Party of China give up its party program. But the position of the Communists in relation to the democratic revolution does not in the main contradict the program of the three principles, the program proclaimed at the First and Second Congresses of the Kuomintang.

Therefore, not only do we not reject the three principles, but we wish steadfastly to put them into life, and demand that the Kuomintang should join us in achieving this. We call on the whole of the Chinese people to operate these three principles so that the Communist Party, the Kuomintang, the entire Chinese people, may jointly undertake the struggle under the banner of the three great principles of Sun Yat-sen.

Was it a mistake at one time to forward the slogan of the Soviets? No. At that time the bourgeoisie departed from the revolution, capitulated to imperialism and the feudal power, and became transformed into an enemy of the Chinese people; the tasks of the revolution were not fulfilled and the revolution suffered defeat; only the workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie remained revolutionary; only the Communist Party remained a revolutionary party, and therefore it was the Communist Party alone that had to shoulder the obligations of the revolution. Only the Communist Party raised aloft the banner of the revolution, maintained the traditions of the revolution, and advanced the slogan of the democratic Soviet Republic of workers and peasants for which it waged a stubborn struggle for many years.

As regards the new democratic repub-

lic, not only are the proletariat, peasants and petty bourgeoisie interested in it, but so also are the democratic sections of the bourgeoisie themselves and all elements who defend the national and democratic revolution. This new type of republic is a bloc of these classes in the national and democratic revolution. The peculiar feature in this regard is that the democratic bourgeoisie by reason of the present internal and external situation are enabled once again to participate in the revolution. And the proletarian party should not prevent them from doing so, but should exert all its strength to draw them on and restore the militant alliance and facilitate the further development of the Chinese revolution. Hence, the slogan of Soviet power in the past, and its withdrawal today, are in both cases correct.

Contradictions and struggles between the classes and the various parties and political groups in the process of the democratic revolution are inevitable. But a stop can and should be put to such manifestations of the contradictions as are disadvantageous and dangerous to national unification against the external enemy (internecine war, hostility between various parties, arbitrariness by local authorities, political oppression and economic exploitation by feudalism, on the one hand; armed revolts and various economic demands which are not advantageous to the struggle to save the country, on the other hand), and only those should be maintained as are of advantage to national unification and resistance to the enemy from without (the right to freedom of criticism, the right to the independent existence of parties, the improvement of political and economic conditions, etc.).

In the light of the carrying through of the anti-Japanese national united front and the establishment of a united all-Chinese republic, the Red Army and the Soviet government are faced with the following tasks:

1. The Red Army must be changed into a national revolutionary army. The military-political and cultural level of the Red Army must be raised above the level of all of the armies of China so as to create a model army of national defense.

2. The Soviet districts must be transformed into constituent parts of a united democratic republic; a new democratic system must be established; public safety units must be organized again; traitors to the Chinese people and provocative elements must be routed out, and thereby model districts established to carry through the struggle against Japanese imperialism and for democracy.

3. In these districts, economic construction should be carried through in planful fashion, and the standard of living of the population raised.

4. With a view to doing away with illiteracy, cultural work to be carried on among the masses according to a definite plan.

THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

The task of the Communist Party of China is to be a vanguard unit in the struggle against Japan, in the salvation of the country. The proletariat, and in particular their vanguard, the Communists, must show an example by their unceasing activity and devotion in carrying our slogans into life. In the struggle to fulfil the tasks of the anti-Japanese united front and the democratic Republic, the Communists must show that they are the most far-sighted, the most steadfast and self-sacrificing fighters, and at the same time must prove that the Communists are best able to pay careful heed to the state of mind of the masses.

We must increase our membership, and achieve iron discipline and ideological unity in our Party. Without losing our political face, we must establish suitable relations with our allies, and develop and strengthen this alliance so as to prevent the revolution falling victim to the waverings of our allies.

In selecting the forms and methods of our work, we should make our starting point the task of establishing an anti-Japanese national united front and a democratic Republic; we must achieve the transition from armed to peaceful methods, from illegal to legal methods, from secret to open methods, from isolation to joint work with our allies. It

will, of course, be no easy thing to carry through such a fundamental change in our forms of work. We must undertake serious study, and train and retrain our cadres.

In the process of the development of the mass movement and by reason of the existence of the specific social conditions of China, historical traditions of reserve, self-righteous sectarianism and adventurism exist within our Party. All this constitutes an obstacle to the establishment of an anti-Japanese national united front and to the winning of the majority of the people.

The struggle against sectarianism and putschism, and at the same time the struggle against "tailism" are a necessary condition for the successful solution of the tasks which face our Party and the Chinese people. We cannot permit the revival of Chen Tu-su's "tailism," which is a reflection of bourgeois reformism in the ranks of the proletariat. Underestimation of the role of the Party and hiding the Party's face, sacrifice of the interests of the workers and peasants and adaptation to the reformist demands of the bourgeoisie—all this will inevitably lead to the defeat of the revolution.

Our slogan is: resolute operation of the revolutionary policy, the gaining of the final victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. To enable a resolute and successful struggle to be carried on against all dangerous deviations and enemies of the people, it is necessary that all members of our Party improve their theoretical knowledge in the sphere of Marxism-Leninism.

About peace: Our Party has been fighting for peace within our country for two years already. After the Third Plenum of the C.E.C. of the Kuomintang, we said that peace had already been won, that the stage of the "struggle for peace" was already passed. The new task is "to consolidate peace." In addition, we pointed out that this new task is linked up with the "struggle for democracy," so as to consolidate the peace achieved. However, judging by the remarks of some comrades, another conclusion is brought forward, since they say that "the contradictions within the country are intensifying." I consider that this opinion is incorrect. There cannot, of course, on the basis of such an estimation, be any question of a new stage and new tasks.

The winning of peace and the consolidation of peace are different concepts. As long as Japanese imperialism, the pro-Japanese groups and Chinese traitors exist, alterations in regard to peace are possible within the country. However, after the Sian events, peace in the country is becoming a fact. This position has been created as a result of a number of circumstances such as the growing aggression of Japanese imperialism, the stand of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., Great Britain and France for peace in China, the pressure exerted by the Chinese people, the peace policy of the Communist Party of China for the abolition of dual power, the differentiation among the bourgeoisie and within the Kuomintang, etc. And this must not be forgotten.

There can be no doubt whatsoever that Japan and the pro-Japanese group are still endeavoring to provoke internecine war in China. In these circumstances our conclusion is not to return to the old slogans of "Stop the internecine war and carry on the struggle for peace," but to go forward and advance the new slogan of "Fight for democracy." Only in this way can peace be consolidated and successful armed resistance carried through. Why do we put forward the triple slogan of "consolidate peace," "win democracy" and "carry through armed resistance to Japanese aggression"? We do so in order to turn the wheel of our revolution forward, since the circumstances already enable us to do so.

The Kuomintang has already begun to change, but has not finally done so. There can be no question of being able finally to alter the reactionary policy operated by the Kuomintang over a period of ten years without a great effort by us and by the entire people. We must remember that both the Communists and Chiang Kai-shek are not supermen, are not isolated individuals, but are parts of a given party, class and nation. The Communist Party can advance the revo-

lution forward step by step, but it is not in a position to clear away all the rubbish in the country in one fine morning. The general direction of the movement is leading toward peace within the country and armed resistance to Japan. But great efforts and a long drawn out struggle are needed for us to be able thoroughly to cleanse our country of all the old, harmful, despotic power and policy of non-resistance which have remained from the internecine war.

In face of the menace of Japanese imperialism, the bourgeoisie has been compelled to seek an ally in the shape of the proletariat just as we are seeking an ally in the shape of the bourgeoisie. We have no need for intrigues and secret designs. Our aims consist of uniting the bourgeoisie and all the Kuomintang elements sympathetic to the anti-Japanese struggle, for a concerted struggle against Japanese imperialism, which is attacking our native land, and to secure victory over it.

About democracy: Some comrades say: "It is a mistake to place one's stakes on democracy. We should only place our stakes on the struggle against Japan." But the struggle against Japan and for democracy are tasks which are mutually conditioned. Democracy represents the guarantee of a real struggle against Japan, while the struggle against Japan will create favorable conditions for the development of the democratic movement.

Should Japan withdraw, as a result of revolution in its own country, this, of course, would help the Chinese revolution. This would mean the collapse of Japanese aggression. But the point is that such a position does not as yet exist. War faces us as a real menace. If Nanking wavers for any length of time, it will become the enemy of the Chinese people, and this is not in the interests of Nanking itself. A temporary retreat cannot replace the laws of history, and therefore we cannot deny the existence of a new stage, nor can one deny the need for advancing democratic tasks.

Why do we insist on the convening of a National Assembly? Because such a National Assembly can embrace all sides of the life of the country. Because it is a bridge between despotism and democracy, because it bears the character of national defense. It is absolutely correct that we must combine the daily struggle against Japan with the struggle to raise the standard of living of the masses, with the struggle for the democratic movement. All this goes without saying. But the most central and fundamental problem at the present stage is democracy and liberty.

About the perspectives of the revolution: A condition of the struggle to achieve the victory of socialism is that we resolutely take our stand at the head of the democratic revolution. We fight for socialism. This it is that distinguishes us from any revolutionary supporter of the three principles of Sun Yat-sen. The efforts we are expending today lead to the great aims of tomorrow. Anyone who loses this great aim ceases immediately to be a Communist, but anyone who disregards the tasks of today is also no Communist.

To pass from the situation wherein the bourgeoisie predominates to the situation where the proletariat will do so, will be a lengthy process of struggle. It will depend on the increasing consciousness and organizational level of the proletariat. It will also depend on the increasing consciousness and organizational level of the peasants and petty bourgeoisie, who are a firm ally of the proletariat. But it depends on the pressure of the masses and our policy if the waverings and inconsistency of the bourgeoisie are to be overcome.

We are supporters of the revolution developing to a higher stage. But we are not supporters of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist theory of the permanent revolution. Neither are we supporters of the semi-Trotskyist views of Li Li-san. We are in favor of passing through all the necessary stages of the democratic republic and of passing to socialism. We are against "tailism," but are also against putschism, against fever. To declare that by reason of the inconsistency of the bourgeoisie an alliance with the revolutionary section of the bourgeoisie of the semi-colonies is capitula-

tion is something that only Trotskyites can say. Our present alliance with the revolutionary section of the bourgeoisie is precisely the necessary bridge for the future passage to socialism.

About cadres: If we are to solve the great tasks of the revolution, we must have a big party, we must have suitable leaders and cadres. The population of China numbers 400,000,000. The historic tasks in such a country are not to be solved with a small group of leaders. If the leaders do not possess the necessary outlook, they are incapable of leading. In spite of the losses suffered by the Communist Party of China in the civil war, it still remains a big party, possessing splendid leaders and cadres.

Hundreds and thousands of new highly class conscious, self-sacrificing workers, full of initiative and capable of carrying through the line of the Party among the masses, have to be trained. These comrades must not be egoists or heroes in solitude; and boasting, a lordly attitude, passivity and laziness, superciliousness and sectarianism, must be characteristics alien to them. They must be great heroes generally accepted by the nation and the class trained in the best revolutionary traditions which have been passed on to us by the tens of thousands of our rank-and-file comrades and dozens of our best leaders who have met their death.

We must rise to a supreme revolutionary level. Throughout the whole of our Party, throughout the whole of our country, we must bring forth a number of cadres and leaders. Our revolution depends on cadres; to use the words uttered by Comrade Stalin on another occasion: "Cadres decide everything."

Regarding democracy within the Party: The principle of democratic centralism must be carried through and democracy operated within the Party. This will strengthen the Party and improve the activity of its members. During the period of reaction and civil war, one side, centralism, stands out to a greater degree. In the new period, centralism must be closely linked up with democracy within the Party. The development of the activity of the whole Party will help to hammer out many rank-and-file workers and leaders, to root out the relics of the group spirit, and to unite the whole of the Party into a force as strong as steel.

Unity at the conference and the unity of the Party: The disagreements which took place on political questions at the conference have, after explanation, been outlived. All the comrades have arrived at a single viewpoint; the disagreements which existed in the past have also disappeared. All this goes to show that ours is a united party. This unity is the most important basis for the coming national democratic revolution, for only if unity exists in the Communist Party can unity of the working class and of the whole people be achieved. And unity of the whole class and of the whole people is the guarantee of our victory and of the successful fulfilment of the tasks of the national and democratic revolution.

Our correct political line and firm unity are directed toward winning tens and hundreds of millions of the population for the united anti-Japanese national front. We need to conduct propaganda, agitation and organizational work among the workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie. It will also depend on the further efforts made by our Party whether the revolutionary section of the bourgeoisie will enter an alliance with us. We need to arrive at a situation where the Party line becomes the line of the masses. This demands of us consistent, painstaking work, without which nothing can be achieved.

The establishment of an anti-Japanese national united front, the strengthening of this front and the solution of the tasks that face it, and also the establishment of a democratic republic in China, can under no circumstances be separated from the struggle for the masses. Japanese imperialism fears most of all the increase of our influence among the masses. It depends on our winning the millions of the Chinese people to our side, how rapidly there will be solved our revolutionary tasks of achieving victory over the Japanese aggressor, and of winning complete national and social liberation for our great Chinese people.

The Growth of the Strike Movement in Japan

BY V. ASSAGIRI

THE unrestrainedly aggressive policy of the Japanese militarists, the policy of adventure in the field of foreign politics, has led to an extreme intensification of the exploitation of very wide sections of the working people of Japan and of their unprecedented impoverishment. The colossal expenditure on the ever-increasing armaments connected with the war in China and the preparations for a "big war" (as compared with the year 1913, the war budget has increased sevenfold and amounts to 1,400,000,000 yen) has first and foremost to be paid by the workers and wide sections of the peasantry.

The already miserable wages of the workers are being reduced. According to the data of the Japanese Bank, wages had fallen 17.7 per cent for workers and 22.8 per cent for working women in February of this year, as against the pre-crisis years. New taxes are being introduced on articles of mass consumption (sugar, salt, cheap cigarettes, etc.).

The increase in taxation and the policy of inflation are bringing in their train an unrestricted rise in prices. Thus, according to official data, the retail prices of foodstuffs have increased by 22 per cent as against the pre-crisis prices, and the prices of clothing has increased 37 per cent. It is becoming difficult to make ends meet even for the workers employed in the large enterprises, including those in the war industry, where wages are relatively high.

The working day is being lengthened in many factories. Even the statistics of the Ministry of Home Affairs are forced to admit that 69 per cent of all the factory workers in 1936 were working from ten to twelve hours a day. Simultaneously, the intensification of labor is increasing.

The growing strike struggles of the workers are dictated by the whole present situation throughout the country. During the first quarter of 1937 alone, official figures indicate 923 labor conflicts involving 128,362 people, while for the corresponding months of 1936 there were 538 labor conflicts, involving 23,436 people.

The strike struggles are taking on a mass character. The number of strikes is increasing in big enterprises and, what is particularly symptomatic, in the war industries, where till recently the dissatisfaction of the workers at their conditions expressed itself only in isolated conflicts.

Sections of the Japanese proletariat who previously stood aside from the labor movement are now on a growing scale joining the strike struggles. These include the workers and employees of the state railways, dockers, handicraft workers for middle-men and for big firms, etc.

The most characteristic feature of the strike movement is that it originated and is developing as a struggle for an increase in wages, for a rise in the standard of living which, because of the high cost of living, has fallen to an unprecedentedly low level. The workers are demanding a 20-30 per cent increase in wages, the right to belong to trade unions, the right to collective agreements, less stringency in the regime at work.

Thirty thousand workers engaged in the steel works at Yawata, belonging to

the Nihon Seitets concern, handed a petition to the management in January of this year demanding a 30 per cent rise in wages in connection with the rapid increase in the cost of living. On receiving no reply in the stipulated period, a section of the men went on strike. There had been no strikes for a number of years in these enterprises, where urgent orders for war purposes are carried out. The management was compelled to give early concessions by agreeing to increase wages by 10 per cent.

Following on this strike, a strike broke out of 2,500 workers of the big Tokuse Nicco steel company in Omori (near Tokio). After appealing for support to the Metal Workers Union, the Tecco Kumiai (the majority of the workers were members of this union), and to the Social-Democratic Party, the Shakai Taishuto, the strikers, through their delegation, demanded from the company a wage increase of 20 per cent and recognition of the union. The workers' demands were granted.

In April a number of strikes for wage increases took place on the private railways, namely, on the line between Tokio and the watering-place Nicco, on the line owned by the Katahami Company, joining Port Katahami with the Tonobori mines (Okayama prefecturate), and the line owned by the Sundzu Company, etc. It is characteristic that the last strike was declared as a protest against the dismissal by the company of the chairman of the branch committee of the railwaymen's union. The movement for increased wages is spreading from the private railways to the state railways, on which trade union organizations are prohibited.

At the initiative of the workers of the Tokio line, a demand for a 30 per cent wage increase and a shorter working day was presented to the railway authorities in the spring of this year. The feelings of the workers were so determined that the railway authorities tried to settle the matter peacefully. They were forced to call a delegate conference of representatives of the workers and management in Odawara (a suburb of Tokio). But the delegates from the railwaymen refused even to discuss the proposal of the Ministry of Ways and Communications for only a 4 per cent increase, and left the conference.

On the evening of May 5 the conference delegates, accompanied by about a thousand railwaymen, took possession of the railway club in the center of Tokio, barricaded themselves inside and held a meeting at which a "fighting committee" was elected. They presented a number of demands to Godo, Minister of Railways, and refused to leave the club until their demands were granted. Delegate conferences were prepared and called in other of the main railway junctions. The bourgeois *Tokio Asabi*, of May 5, expressed its alarm in a report that the workers of the Osaka, Nyigata, Sapporo, Nagoya and Modzi railway junctions, according to "information to hand, are prepared to rally together for a joint struggle of all railwaymen for increased wages."

Fearing a further extension of the struggle, which would doubtless have caused serious complications in the economic life of the country, the Ministry of Ways and Communications hastened to make concessions by proposing a 10 per cent increase in wages as from June.

In the struggle for their daily needs, "go slow" tactics are the characteristic and predominating method of struggle used by the Japanese workers in face of police terror and the military regime. Take the strike of 9,000 workers of the Mitsubisi Company at the military aviation construction works in Nagoya, where the men demanded a 20 per cent increase in wages. The management was prepared to increase wages by 10 per cent, but did not put it into operation. Then, as a protest, the workers of two departments where airplanes are assembled, downed tools completely. Three days later the management was compelled to compromise by introducing the 10 per cent increase in wages and providing for the adoption of measures for "a maximum increase in wages in the future," and also satisfying a number of the strikers' small demands.

A characteristic feature of the strike movement is the striving of the workers

to defend their interests by proletarian unity. The number of solidarity strikes in support of workers on strike in other enterprises, as well as in defense of dismissed comrades and individual trade union officials, is on the increase; delegate conferences are convened, demonstrations organized, and strikers' aid committees set up, etc.

One of the most striking examples of the readiness of the workers to form a solid front against the capitalist offensive was the "go-slow" strike of the Tokio transport workers. The leaders of the Tokio tramway workers' union (Toko) gave the order on the night of April 21 to begin a "go-slow" strike in connection with the unsatisfactory reply of the Electrical Bureau to the petition for increased wages. Although the order was given late at night and some groups of workers did not obtain it in time, the next morning all 11,000 members of the "Toko" began the "go slow" strike. Trams left the depots ten minutes late. No more than half the trams were running, and these moved considerably more slowly than usual. On April 23 the workers of a number of bus lines under the management of the municipality joined the tramwaymen. Instead of 580 buses, only 298 left their depots.

The successful development of the strike was prepared for by the preliminary work of the tramwaymen's union. At the initiative of the union, a "League of Struggle for Increased Wages" was set up in Tokio in the end of March as a united front organ of struggle to raise the standard of living of *all* the workers of the Tokio municipality. Six Left trade union organizations in Tokio joined the League and, having obtained promises of support from the Social-Democratic Party, the Shakai Taishuto, and the Nihon Mushanto, the Left Labor Party —the League handed in a petition to the municipality for a 20 per cent increase in wages for *all* municipal workers, and conducted agitational work to mobilize workers for the struggle.

In the course of two weeks, mass meetings of 1000-1500 people were repeatedly called, demonstrations to the municipal council were organized, and leaflets were distributed among the population, etc. The attempts of the Electrical Bureau to recruit scabs and bring traffic to normal were futile. The six hundred registered unemployed, to whom the Electrical Bureau applied through the Labor Exchange, not only refused to do the work of the strikers, but even organized a demonstration of protest to the municipal council. The proposal to scab was met with strong antagonism even by the lower officials of the municipal authorities who had been obedient tools of the Electrical Bureau during the previous strikes of the town transport workers.

Soon after the beginning of the Tokio transport workers strike, the transport workers of Osaka and Kobe joined the strike in solidarity and for an improvement in their position.

When the municipal authorities saw that the tramwaymen were conducting their "go slow" tactics in an organized fashion, and fearing to sharpen the conflict by adopting compulsory measures, they promised wage increases averaging 6 per cent from the first of May. But this proposal of the authorities did not satisfy the workers. Neither did the threats of the municipal authorities to undertake mass dismissals have any effect whatsoever upon the strikers. Then the Tokio police resorted to decisive action. General meetings of strikers were prohibited. In one of the tram depots a conflict took place between the police and the strikers, who insisted upon holding a meeting. As a result, arrests were made.

On the fourth day, the Tokio transport workers' strike was broken by compulsory arbitration. All the municipal workers and office employees were given a 10 per cent increase on their daily wages. These conditions caused serious dissatisfaction among the members of the Tokio tramwaymen's union, and it cost the leaders of the union no little work to persuade the delegate conference, called at the demand of the workers, to agree to make concessions.

In Japan, strikes also take place accompanied by the seizure of whole enterprises (for example, when the strikers occupied the brickworks in Sakai, near

Osaka), or of separate departments (the occupation of the wire department of the Too Company works).

Although the demands of the workers are, in the main, of an economic character, each strike, when it comes up against acts of repression on the part of the military-bureaucratic state machine, awakens and increases the class consciousness of ever wider masses of workers. The capitalist press itself has been compelled to admit that "the most characteristic thing about the present strike movement is the fact that the workers are taking the offensive."

The growth of organization in the strike struggles, and its offensive character, have had their effect upon the results. More frequently than in previous years the employers make concessions during strikes and sometimes even themselves give small wage increases with a view to averting strikes. Making a pretense of providing special grants, such as grants to large families to cover the high cost of living, wedding presents and the like, the Japanese capitalists are trying to strengthen among the workers the illusion of paternalism which is today fading away more and more. On an average, the wage increases per worker are not as much as 2 per cent, even as compared with 1936. This insignificant increase, however, lags far behind the rapid increases in the cost of living in connection with the new loans and the additional budget to finance the new invasion of China.

The rise of the strike wave is accompanied by the growing desire of the unorganized workers to join trade unions, by the creation of new trade unions, and by the organization of new branches of the old trade unions. This fact acquires greater significance in that the Japanese workers are extremely poorly organized, for out of 6,000,000 workers employed in industry and on transport only 412,000 are organized in trade unions. According to the report of the Central Committee of the largest trade union center, the "Chenso," the number of members in its main branches alone (Tokio, Osaka, Kanagawa, Hirosima and Kioto) during the first three months of the current year, increased by more than 8,000 members, a figure equal to half a year's increase in the number of all the organized Japanese workers, in the previous years.

At the same time, a number of weaknesses are characteristic of the strike movement. Side by side with the growth of elements of organization, the increased role of the trade unions in organizing and conducting strikes and conflicts, the increase in the number of solidarity strikes and so on, the majority of strikes are spontaneous in origin, and the united front has still not become the workers' chief method of struggle for their everyday needs. The strike struggles are very inadequately linked up with the movement for trade union unity.

In face of the further growth of social contradictions in the country, the representatives of the ruling classes have been compelled to make some concessions on questions of labor conditions. For instance, a bill is in preparation "to restrict the working day in industry to twelve hours"; a commission "to combat high prices" has been set up, etc. At the same time, the authorities are hastening to suppress the struggles of the workers by force. With this end in view, a bill is in preparation for compulsory arbitration and the prohibition of strikes in all branches of industry. The Shakai Taishuto and the Nihon Musanto have been specially warned by the police authorities, and the calling of all kinds of meetings, etc., is being prohibited. Besides repressive measures, steps are being taken to prevent the growth and consolidation of the trade union (militarization of the war industries, organization of company unions, etc.). The Japanese militarists, having now undertaken the realization of their plans of aggression for the further enslavement of China, and having launched their military operations in China, are thus trying to ensure a peaceful rear at home.

But the acts of repression of the government against the working class organizations can only hasten the process whereby the economic struggles of the workers will grow into a political struggle, a struggle against Japanese militarism, fascism and the monarchy.

The Solution of the Agrarian Question in Spain

BY L. MANUEL

IN THE course of the difficult bloody struggle against the rebel fascist generals and Italo-German interventionists, a struggle that has already lasted over a year, the Spanish people are solving the problems of their democratic revolution, among which the agrarian question occupies a very important place.

The abolition of the feudal rights of the landowners, the undermining of their social-economic basis, the division of the land among the peasants and agricultural workers, the abolition of enslaving rents and sharecropping, and the improvement of the working conditions of the agricultural workers—this is what the democratic solution of the agrarian question has involved.

At the same time it has been necessary to insure the provision of food and, first and foremost, of bread for the Republic and the army. But the chief grain regions (Old Castile, Leon and Estramadura) proved to be in the hands of the rebels, while in the Republican part of Spain the area under grain was comparatively small. In September, 1936, tens and hundreds of thousands of hectares of landlords' land were not being cultivated.

The Minister for Agriculture, the Communist Party member Comrade Vicente Uribe, expressed the needs that had developed in the following striking formula: "Not a single plot of land must be left uncultivated; not a single peasant must be without land."

WHAT THE AGRARIAN POLICY OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT GOVERNMENT HAS GIVEN THE PEASANTRY

Decisive significance for the agrarian policy of the People's Front government attaches to the Decree of the Minister for Agriculture, Comrade Uribe, dated October 7, 1936. The essence of this decree was as follows: First, land of landowners implicated in the rebellion or who had fled was subjected to expropriation without compensation for the benefit of the state, *i.e.*, nationalization, and its transfer to agricultural workers and peasants for use for all time; second, the registration, expropriation and distribution of the land was, in the main, entrusted to the peasants themselves. According to the decree, the land may be worked individually or collectively, according to the wishes of the peasants themselves. The Institute for Agrarian Reform was charged with giving aid to the agricultural workers and poor peasants (money, tools, seeds, fertilizers, etc.) so that they should be able to deal with the landowners' land newly acquired by them. The peasantry were freed from the payment of rent.

According to incomplete data of the Ministry of Agriculture, by June, 1937, on Republican territory, in Levante, New Castile, and the Eastern provinces of Andalusia, not including Catalonia, Santander and Asturias, there have been confiscated and distributed among the agri-

cultural workers, peasants and former tenants about 4,000,000 hectares of landowners' land. The peasants received 110,000,000 pesetas of credits (including 85,000,000 pesetas from the Institute of Agrarian Reform, and 25,000,000 pesetas from the Agricultural Credit Bank). A single peasant household receives not more than 5,000 pesetas. Besides money credits, there had been distributed among the peasants up to May, 1937, various fertilizers to the value of 4,000,000 pesetas and seeds to the value of 5,000,000 pesetas.

Orders were given to the Republican troops to pay the peasants for all agricultural products at not less than average market prices. How have the peasants made use of the landowners' land received by them. In regions where petty peasant property or land tenancy prevailed, the greater part of the expropriated landowners' estates was divided between the peasants and former tenants. This holds good for Catalonia, Aragon, New Castile, and for the Albacete district of the Murcia province. On the other hand, in those regions where big farms with hired labor power had predominated, a considerable portion of the landowners' land remained in the collective use of the former agricultural workers. The collective form of the use of the former landowners' estates is most widespread in Andalusia.

Recognizing the legal existence of all collective farms founded after July 18, 1936, a new Decree of the Minister of Agriculture of June 8, 1937, provides for the provision of technical and material aid to the collective farms by the Institute for Agrarian Reform. The Institute has the task of converting every collective farm into a model farm.

Model statutes for collective farms were published in the newspaper *Frente Rojo* of July 15-16, 1937. According to these statutes, the members of the collective farm at a general meeting elect from their midst an administrative junta (chairman, secretary, and two members) which must report monthly to a general meeting and present plans of work for its confirmation. At the end of the agricultural year, reports are presented and new elections of the administrative junta take place.

From its income, the collective farm pays the sums received as loans from the Institute for Agrarian Reform and other bodies, covers its own expenditures, puts aside a definite percentage for the use of the collective farm, and divides the remainder according to the number of labor days registered during the year by all the collective farmers. Thus, the principle is established of the payment of labor according to the number of labor days worked. For failure to fulfil the decisions of the administrative junta and the instructions of the chairmen or unit leader, collective farmers are liable to punishment up to expulsion from the collective farm. The collective farm may not use hired labor and, in case of a shortage of workers, any agricultural workers drawn in must be accepted as members of the collective farms.

The economic position of the small peasants and former agricultural laborers, not to mention their other gains, is now incomparably better than it was under the landlords, who paid one to two pesetas per day; while, in addition, the work then was only seasonal (two or three months during the year). Now the agricultural laborer, member of a collective farm, receives five to six pesetas per day as an advance, and it is possible that at the end of the year, on the division of the farm's income, he may receive a further sum. "An end has been put forever to the starvation wage of one and a half pesetas and the eighteen-hour day," declared Minister for Agriculture Uribe. The workers have moved from the cattle-pens and hovels in which they were previously sheltered to the homes of the landowners, estate-managers, etc. But the chief thing is that the agricultural worker is assured work all the year round in connection with the introduction of supplementary crops, wheat, etc.

The Decree of March 25, 1937, provides for the organization of a regular organ for agriculture—the National Commission for Crop Planning. The duties of this commission include the development of individual branches of agri-

culture with the object of fully supplying the front and the rear, the introduction of new crops and the development of livestock-breeding. Measures have been taken by the National Commission to increase further, first of all, the production of grain crops, and especially of leguminous crops (soya), which partially replace livestock products. During the spring campaign of 1937 the government intensively spread the cultivation of soya by the peasant farms, giving out seed and furthering its sowing by fixing prices profitable for the peasantry.

In the beginning of June, 1937, a state grain monopoly was introduced by decree of the President; the decree gave the Ministry of Agriculture the exclusive right of purchasing the wheat harvest. The establishment of the grain monopoly is to do away with profiteering. At the same time a fixed price, higher than the market prices, was established for wheat. This was intended to stimulate both the extension of the sown area and the sale of grain to the state.

As a result of all these measures, the sown area in the Republican part of Spain has considerably increased:

	1936	*1937*
	(*in thousand hectares*)	
Wheat	1098	1147
Barley	595	640

The harvest has increased correspondingly. According to estimates of the Ministry for Agriculture, the harvest obtained and expected, is as follows:

	1936	*1937*
	(*in thousand centners*)	
Wheat	10,118	11,698
Barley	7,559	8,670

In the main, this amount of grain satisfies the requirements of the front and rear.

A tremendous political task has been the gathering of the harvest. All the population of democratic Spain came to the aid of the villages in collecting the harvest. The Communist Party addressed a call for shock work to the peasants and agricultural workers. On the initiative of the Communist Party, shock brigades of workers and office employees were formed in the towns and these went out to the villages on Sundays so as to help the peasants. Sections of the people's army devoted their brief leaves, the breathing spaces between battles, to helping the villages in gathering in the harvest. This active aid of the town and army for the village has still further strengthened the alliance between the working class and peasantry and still more closely consolidated the ranks of the People's Front.

THE STRUGGLE OVER THE AGRARIAN POLICY OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

The Communist Party of Spain correctly estimated the agrarian question to be one of the most important questions of the democratic revolution, and devoted special attention to it from the very first days of the fascist rebellion. The Communists have fought for the full realization in practice of the government's Land Decree and for the defense of the interests of the peasantry.

A section of Anarchist leaders, who failed to understand the democratic character of the present stage of the Spanish Revolution, advanced the demand for the immediate realization of so-called libertarian communism, for the "socialization" of all means of production, including the land, in the hands of individual small "collectives."

What is characteristic of this policy of the Anarchists? In the first place, force was used by the Anarchists to carry on this peculiar "collectivization." They compelled not only the agricultural laborers and peasants to enter the "collectives," but also the former tenants and sharecroppers. In the second place, the Anarchists "socialized" into these so-called "collectives" not only the land, but also the instruments of labor and big cattle, and also the petty farms of the peasant households, including even domestic poultry. In the third place, the principle of the uniform payment of labor was introduced by them in the collectives; peasants, artisans, technicians, all received the same pay. Payment was not made dependent on the quantity and quality of labor but on

the number of members in the family. In the fourth place, the Anarchists went so far as to abolish money, replacing it by various certificates issued by committees, trade unions or municipalities, or they tried to establish barter between the "free" communes.

To carry out this policy, the Anarchists set up their own committees, administrative councils and control patrols in the village. The committees and administrative councils administered, while the control patrols enforced the measures with which the peasantry were not in agreement. In a number of places the Anarchist committees took rent from the land tenants. In addition, there were in the ranks of the Anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists not a few of the so-called uncontrolled elements who terrorized the peasants and disregarded both the government regulations and even the decisions of their own Anarchist organizations. The Anarchist experiments, supported here and there by certain Socialists as well, menaced the alliance of the working class and the peasants.

Nevertheless, under the influence of the mass of the peasants, a definite change is to be observed in the attitude of many Anarchist leaders, who are giving way to the urge of the peasant masses for organization and unity. Thus, having adopted the decision to form a National Peasant Federation at the national plenary session of Peasant Organizations belonging to the National Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.), held June 12-15, in Valencia, the Anarchists now advocate its union with the National Federation of Land Workers, affiliated to the General Workers Union (U.G.T.). At the plenum itself, strong dissatisfaction at compulsory collectivization was expressed by the mass of peasants. In the statutes of the new federation that were adopted, it is stated that it unites both collective farms and individual peasants. After this plenum, the anarcho-syndicalist press began to condemn cases of forced collectivization and the excesses associated with it.

The most disgusting role in Spain is played by the villainous gang of Trotskyites—the direct agents of General Franco, Hitler and Mussolini—whose aim is to isolate the proletariat from the other forces of democracy, and especially from the peasantry, who are treated by the Trotskyites as "one reactionary mass." The Trotskyites demanded immediate 100 per cent compulsory collectivization, set up their committees and control patrols in the villages, compelled the peasants by force of arms to join the "collectives," employed firearms (in January, 1937, in Fatarella, and in the province of Tarragona the Trotskyist bandits deliberately fired on the peasants), collected the canceled rents from the peasants, confiscated the harvest, cattle, etc. They behaved in the village like the former landowners and highwaymen.

But the Trotskyites failed to carry out their provocative designs to set the peasantry against the Republic, against the People's Front. The parties of the People's Front, and first and foremost the Communist Party, took action in defense of the peasants against the provocation of the Trotskyites and Anarchist adventurism in the villages. The Minister for Agriculture categorically forbade the compulsory "collectivization" of the peasants, and demanded the dissolution of unauthorized committees and control patrols.

At the Madrid agrarian conference convened by the Communist Party Comrade Uribe in his speech gave a rebuff to all supporters of compulsory collectivization and all slanderers of the Communist Party and the People's Front.

"From the very beginning," he said, "we come out against such insolent action by declaring that 'collectives' can and must be created on a completely voluntary basis. But this is by no means what happens when certain gentlemen, newly-baked collectivists, set up an administrative council, lay their hands on all the property of the rebels who have fled, and say to the workers: 'Join the collective,' forcing them to do so, otherwise depriving them of the possibility of getting work and food. And it happens that the workers, including those who are thoroughgoing champions of collective labor, join the collective with the

same 'eagerness' as a bull enters the slaughter-house. I have fought and I continue to fight against such administrators being forced on the workers."

"For us," declared Comrade Uribe, in another passage of his speech, "the revolution does not consist in the factories, land and capital, accumulated by the sweat and sacrifice of many generations of proletarians, falling into the hands of irresponsible persons and rogues so as to enable them later, with the aid of these funds, factories and lands, to profiteer, thus damaging the interests of the Republic. Such a revolution does not suit us. We stand on our guard to prevent such 'revolutionaries' being foisted upon us."

The Communist Party is doing everything in its power in order to further and defend the voluntary establishment and normal functioning of the collective farms. Comrade Uribe pointed out that by June, 1937, the collective farms had been allotted credits amounting to 54,000,000 pesetas by the Ministry for Agriculture. In addition, they had been given 3,900,000 kilograms of fertilizers.

On the basis of the Decree of June 8, dealing with assistance for collective farms, the latter had, up to July 8, 1937, *i.e.*, during only one month, received more than 10,000,000 pesetas with which to issue advances to their members.

The policy of the People's Front has guaranteed a lasting alliance between the working class and peasantry, has undermined the machinations of enemies, and has made it possible for the proletariat to become the leading force in the countryside.

The peasantry stands steadfastly on the side of the legitimate Republican government and, arms in hand, is fighting against the rebels. All the villages through which Republican troops have to pass eagerly supply them with food and shelter. The peasants have organized a service of watchmen, take it in turns to act as armed guards, and verify people passing through. Thousands of volunteers are streaming into the army from the villages; from many villages the entire male population has voluntarily gone to the front. On the Madrid front there are no less than 35,000 peasant volunteers. The Tietar battalion has especially covered itself with glory. It is composed of peasants from the province of Avila (Old Castile) which is in the hands of the fascists. The peasants did not wish to remain under fascist rule and went over to the Republican Government. From among the peasants there have emerged such talented army commanders as Campesino.

The peasants and agricultural workers work on the fields regardless of time spent or danger. In the river basin of the Tajo and Cuadiana, at a distance of some fifteen meters from the enemy posts, the peasants make use of moonless nights to gather the olive harvest. Frequently German and Italian airmen have machine-gunned peasants working in the fields, but after they have passed over, the peasants have resumed their work. The political activity and consciousness of the peasants, and their urge toward organization and solidarity are growing.

The correct policy of the Communist Party on the agrarian question is leading to the rapid growth of its influence in the countryside. Of the total membership of the Communist Party, approximately one-half is made up of peasants and agricultural workers. The village has become a reliable bulwark and support of Republican Spain.

THE PEASANTRY IN THE FASCIST REAR

General Franco has abolished all the agrarian reforms of the Republic and published a decree returning to the landlords and aristocrats all the lands transferred to the peasants and agricultural workers by the democratic government. Once more high hents and all overdue payments are being beaten out of the peasants. The working conditions of the agricultural laborers are becoming worse. On November 15, 1936, General Franco declared a 50 per cent reduction in wages for agricultural laborers.

The hostile attitude of the peasantry to the fascist regime has compelled the rebels to camouflage their reactionary policy somewhat with demagogic declarations and promises. For example, Gen-

eral Franco has promised the peasants "rebates in cultivating the land and fair prices for their produce." Since these general declarations have had no effect, Franco has gone further and in a speech over the radio promised that "the land would be free from exploiters." And Quiepo de Llano, the eternally intoxicated "wireless general" of Seville, in one of his regular broadcasts, promised outright to take the land from the landowners and distribute it among the peasants. . . . However, there is not even a hint of these demagogic promises in the official programs drawn up since these speeches were made.

The rebels want to restore in the villages the old-time oppression, the old feudal order, the power of the landlords and churches. In the villages occupied by the rebels and interventionists, cattle and food supplies are requisitioned from the peasants. The soldiers of the Foreign Legion, the Moroccan sharpshooters, and German and Italian fascists plunder, violate and mobilize the peasants by force. The rebel command permit their badly clothed and poorly shod soldiers to take away for themselves the clothing and boots of the peasants. The slightest sign of resistance leads to most bloody repression: foreign legionaires and Moroccan soldiers cut down fruit trees, slaughter cattle, devastate and burn down entire villages. They demand of the local administrative bodies and municipal councils that they "recognize" the new authorities. If they meet with a refusal, the members of the municipal council are shot.

Terror is used against all peasants suspected of being sympathetically inclined toward the People's Front and hostile to fascism. They are shot in thousands. For example, in the village of Fernan Nunes, in the Cordoba province, 76 peasants were shot; in the village of Villan, 55 peasants; in the province of Jaen, 1,200 peasants; in Baena, the fascists poured kerosene over 19 peasants and burned them alive.

It is not surprising that the villages are hostile to the fascists and interventionists, that the peasants together with the workers behind the lines of the fascist rebels are engaged in an active struggle against the rebels and interventionists.

The peasants have, in fact, gone on strike against the open plunder practised by the fascist authorities and troops, and masses of them have stopped sowing the fields. The winter sowing on the territory occupied by the rebels is considerably less than in 1936. Consequently, despite the fact that the chief grain regions of Spain (Old Castile, Leon, Estremadura) are in the hands of the rebels, the latter are experiencing a shortage of grain. The fascist "Spanish Phalangists" have promised 100 pesetas to every peasant who sows an extra hectare of land. But the peasants have no faith in this promise.

As the troops of the rebels and interventionists pass through the villages, they are meeting with an increasingly hostile reception. The peasants are more and more frequently refusing to supply food and lodgings to the rebel troops. Finally, the peasants are also undertaking an armed struggle against the fascists and interventionists for bread, land and the national independence of Spain. The "partisan" movement is growing against the rebels and is developing most strongly in Andalusia and Estremadura.

A detachment of partisans, three thousand strong, held out for a long time in the mountains of Estremadura. The fascists sent out against it not only artillery, but also two bombing planes. The detachment was crushed, but those of the partisans who escaped formed a number of small detachments, among whom were women as well. After the bloody slaughter in Badajoz, a detachment numbering 15,000, composed of peasants and workers who had fled from the terror in Badajoz, made its way into the mountains. In the region of Barcarota, partisans crushed a detachment of rebels numbering 600 men. Partisans attacked the estates of the landlords in small detachments and took away horses and provisions. Not far from Casares, partisans tore up the railroad, so that a troop train of Italians on its way to Salamanca was wrecked.

The partisan movement is also wide-

spread in Andalusia. Partisans wrecked eleven trains near Cordoba. They blew up a troop train seven kilometers from Cordoba and, as a result, 300 fascists perished. On the Cordoba-Penuaroya arterial road, partisans seized five trucks with ammunition and provisions. Close to Espiella, partisans seized the field office of the Phalangists, as well as trench mortars and machine-guns. As a result of the activities of partisans, railway communications between Grenada and Malaga were dislocated for twelve days.

In the summer of 1937, the mountainous region around Seville became the arena of fierce warfare waged by about 5,000 supporters of Republican Spain. These people had fled to the mountains in the winter of 1936 and spring of 1937. At first they were armed with old hunting rifles. But by July, 1937, they were already in possession of German machine-guns and rifles seized from the rebels after hand-to-hand fighting. The detachments consists of agricultural laborers, peasants and miners from the Rio Tinto and other copper mines.

According to incomplete information, in the course of the spring and summer months of 1937 partisans wrecked eighty rebel troops trains, blew up forty trucks with troops, six war factories, fifteen bridges, etc.

The peasants supply the partisans with food and shelter and hide them during raids. They drive mules and sheep across the front to the Republicans. The fascists wiped out the entire village of Pueblo de Casalle (in the province of Seville) because the inhabitants sheltered partisans.

Franco is compelled to maintain almost 100,000 soldiers far from the front in order to fight against the partisans. In the region of Cordoba, the bridges are guarded by detachments of 100 men. Trains and motor cars travel only by day.

These sentiments of the peasants could not fail to find their reflection on the rebel army, for its Spanish section consists mainly of compulsory mobilized peasants. There are increasing numbers of cases where Spanish soldiers in Franco's army come over to the side of the Republic. Entire companies come over. For example, during the battles at Pozoblanco, in Andalusia, an entire company went over to the side of the Republicans consisting, in the main, of forcibly mobilized Andalusian peasants who had beaten up their officers. In the beginning of August, 2,000 Spanish rebel soldiers on the Northern front crossed to the Republican side in only a few days. In connection with the numerous cases of soldiers crossing to the side of the Republicans, the rebel army command has prohibited the formation of army units consisting exclusively of mobilized peasants.

* * *

All that for which the Spanish peasantry and the Spanish people have been fighting for centuries is now being brought about by the People's Front government in the course of the armed struggle against the fascist rebels and interventionists.

The peasants are one of the most important forces which, in close alliance with and under the leadership of the proletariat, can destroy the fascist camp, both in the rear of the enemy and at the front, and help guarantee the victory of the Spanish people.

The Struggle of the Communist Party of France for the Peasantry

BY RENAUD JEAN *

IN THIS article we shall deal only with the position of peasants who do not work for wages, although the changes that have taken place among agricultural laborers, their successes in the field of trade union organization and their achievements during the last two years are of no less interest.

According to the figures of the agricultural census of 1929 published not long ago, the total number of adult men and women in France permanently engaged in agriculture is 6,098,512. Of these, 5,015,364 do not work for wages while 1,083,148 are wage workers.

In France there are 5,625,417 holdings, in all occupying 53,209,496 hectares (one hectare is 2.471 acres). The number of farms, however, is about 4,000,000, since not infrequently several holdings constitute a single farm.

The following table shows the distribution of these farms according to the land area:

Area	*Number of Farms*	*Total Area (in hectares)*
Up to 1 hectare...	1,014,731	724,908
From 1 to 10 hectares	1,863,867	9,556,284
10 to 50 hectares.	973,520	22,437,770
50 to 100 hectares.	81,844	6,126,880
Over 100 hectares.	32,460	7,359,477

This table testifies to the unequal distribution of land in France. 32,460 farms of over 100 hectares each total 7,359,477 hectares of land, while at the same time 2,878,598 farms of 10 hectares or less occupy 10,281,192 hectares in all.

However, it is not possible, on the basis of the figures given above, to make an accurate classification of these farms. Some of the farms of less than one hectare, and especially farms of one to ten hectares, should be reckoned as capitalist farms in spite of their insignificant dimensions (this is where they are concerned with market gardening, or in some regions with vine-growing). Other farms included in the fourth or even the fifth category (fifty hectares or more), in spite of their area, remain farms of a patriarchal or almost patriarchal type (in the department of Bourbonnet).

According to data of the same census of 1929, there are in France 574,703 middle and large farms which usually employ hired labor. In addition it should be borne in mind that the farmer or sharecropper who pays rent to the big landowner in money or kind and employs two or three workers is sometimes not in a better position than the small farmer who works his own land exclusively with the aid of the members of his family. There are in France 728,131 farmers and 198,783 sharecroppers. In the light of these data it is clear what an enormous significance attaches to the two draft laws (the law on land tenure and the new statutes for sharecroppers)

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which are intended to protect the interests of the farmers and sharecroppers. About one million families are interested in the adoption and operation of these laws.

AGRICULTURE IN FRANCE AND THE PROBLEM OF PRICES

According to the 1929 census, 349,356 farms are of the monoculture type (livestock breeding, 96,799; vine-growing, 188,870; horticulture, 40,270; forestry, 23,416). For these nearly 350,000 peasant families the problem of prices is of decisive importance inasmuch as they sell almost their whole produce on the market. But this question is also of very great importance for the majority of peasants whose farms are of the multiculture type. The agrarian crisis has considerably diminished the money income of the peasants and decreased their purchasing power. Hence the program of the People's Front with regard to agriculture contains first and foremost a general obligation: the re-establishment of the former prices for agricultural products. Other obligations of a more particular character are also included in the program, namely, the setting up of a bureau for grain crops, the review of leases, the prohibition of compulsory sales of the peasants' property, control of selling prices of fertilizers, etc.

Subsequently the Minister for Agriculture, and also the Prime Minister, announced other reforms which did not figure in the original program: statutes for tenants, a law on land tenure, insurance against natural calamities, collective agreements on prices. At the present time it has already become impossible to separate these two groups of obligations; all of them alike must be fulfilled.

During the last five years preceding the crisis, the average price for grain was approximately 145 francs per 100 kilograms. In the pre-war years the price was equivalent to 26.40 francs, while in the current year it amounts to 145-146 francs. Thus, the pre-crisis level of prices for grain has been re-established. The price for grain is 60 or 70 per cent higher than the actual prices in 1933-1935 and five and one-half times greater than the pre-war price.

In spite of the demagogic campaign of the opponents of the Grain Office (the Grain Office regulates grain prices) who ally themselves with the reactionary parties, the vast majority of the peasants selling grain consider that this price is satisfactory. It should, however, be considerably increased for the 1937 harvest, since the prices of goods bought by the peasants have been raised.

The average price for wine also shows a considerable increase in comparison with the price during the crisis years, but it has not yet reached the level—true, an extremely high level—of the period 1927-1930.

The People's Front as represented by its majority has not introduced any changes in the existing legislation relating to vine-growing. This legislation, with all its numerous provisions and supplements (restriction and cessation of production, distillation of wine, sale of wine in parts), constitutes a system of prohibitive measures. In addition, the poor harvest of 1936 has operated to raise prices.

Let us pass to prices for meat. We will quote the prices per kilogram of meat of second quality, net weight, on the Villette market.

Beef: average pre-crisis price (1930), 9.85 francs; 1935 price—in the height of the crisis—4.60 francs. Present price, 8.40 francs, *i.e.*, 1.45 francs below the 1930 prices, but 3.8 francs (80 per cent) above the 1935 prices.

Veal: 1930, 13.75 francs; 1935, 6.45 francs; at the present time, 12.90 francs. Thus, the present price is 0.85 franc below the 1930, but 6.45 francs above the 1935 price, an increase of 100 per cent.

Mutton: in 1930, 14.40 francs; in 1935, 10.30 francs; at the present time, 12 francs. A reduction in price of 2.40 francs as compared with 1930; an increase of 1.70 francs or 16 per cent as compared with 1935.

These results are the more interesting because the increase in prices was not brought about by a decrease in the supply as was the case in regard to

grain cultures and wine. The figure of the head of cattle in 1937 is equal to the figure of the year 1935. The increase in prices is, undoubtedly, the result of the increase in the purchasing power of the working class.

But this increase does not apply to all agricultural produce; the prices of fruits, vegetables, potatoes and milk still remain at an extremely low level. Even in respect to agricultural products to which the increase in prices applies, the level of prices is still too low.

CONCRETE OBLIGATIONS

Thus, the policy of restoring prices must be continued in the future and on an even wider scale until the reforms promised to the peasants both in the program of the People's Front and in government declarations are adopted and put into effect:

1. The peasants must be helped to pay the debts they have accumulated as a result of the crisis. The first law passed to this end in August, 1936, was almost a complete failure; the court allowed the debtors only insignificant deferments. The Agricultural Credit Bank, adhering to the letter of the law, refused to grant loans if the peasant was unable to present all the guarantees required. As a result, the auction of peasants' property continues; it is accompanied by severe court sentences in cases when the peasantry try to protect their brothers against the court bailiff. A new law must be adopted prohibiting, at least for two years, the seizure and auctioning of peasants' property and making it easier for debtors to obtain loans to pay off old debts.

2. We have indicated the role which prices play in the lives of the French peasantry. This was responsible for a bill to assist the peasants to conclude collective agreements on prices with traders and factory-owners buying their produce. The bill goes even further; it provides in certain cases for the compulsory application of these conventions to peasants or purchasers refusing to observe the law, and also, by the decision of the government, in cases when the two sides are unable to come to agreement. The bill was passed by the Chamber of Deputies, but the Senate had not yet even examined it.

3. Aid to peasants in the case of natural calamities. Up till now cultivators have been afforded ridiculously little aid in this respect. Regularly every year up to 1932, the Chamber of Deputies has made assignments to the peasantry of several hundred million francs, which were then divided haphazardly among the peasants who had suffered from natural calamities. Since the year 1932 the assignment of these benefits, as well as the extent of state subscriptions to the insurance fund against hail, has been established by law. According to this system, cultivators receive a benefit not exceeding 8 to 14 per cent of the established loss, and that only, taking the average with a delay of two years.

Hence it is clear why the peasantry are particularly stubborn in their search for reforms in this sphere. They are demanding compulsory state insurance against natural calamities and cattle disease.

4. Finally, the position of those peasants to whom the lands they cultivate do not belong, the farmers and sharecroppers, must be improved.

On the expiry of leases, the big landowner can drive away the farmer without any cause. The sharecropper, on the other hand, in the majority of cases, has no written agreement, while the existing agreement remains in force for only one year. The big landowner at the end of the year can refuse the work of the sharecropper, by giving him notice, but for a term established by local custom. He can sell the land and buildings without even warning the farmer or sharecropper to whom he entrusted his farm. He has the right to refuse to pay the farmer or sharecropper any compensation for having improved the state of the farm.

Two bills introduced in parliament should put an end to such an intolerable situation. The landowner besides, frequently using the dependence upon himself of the farmer or sharecropper, makes them an object of his unconcealed license: he forces the farmer or share-

cropper to send his children into what is known as the free school or to vote for this or that candidate at his command.

The first bill provides the farmer with the right to renew leases (except in cases where there are weighty and just reasons, recognized by a commission consisting half of delegates from the farmers and half from the landowners). In cases where a landowner refuses to renew the agreement, he must pay compensation for the removal of the farmer. The farmer has the primary right of purchase at an equal price if the land is up for sale; he also has the right to compensation for the difference between the former and the new price.

Another bill, affording the same rights to the sharecropper, provides for the compulsory conclusion of a contract for nine years (the contract may be canceled by the sharecropper in three years), the fixing by a parity commission of conditions for the distribution of the harvest and also expenditure for conducting the farm, the extension to sharecroppers of various kinds of social legislation.

There are to be noted two more reforms of interest, first and foremost, to the peasantry, but which should be extended to cover other groups of working people. They provide for additional wages for large families and pensions for the aged.

RESISTANCE TO THE REFORM

In summing up the results of the fulfilment of the agrarian program of the People's Front, the promises made at the April-May, 1936, elections, a striking difference is to be marked between the reforms for the working class and those for the peasantry.

While the reforms for the working class have brought about an unparalleled improvement in the position of the proletariat of our country (forty-hour working week, holidays with pay, collective agreement, etc.), the peasantry has received nothing but two laws adopted by the Chamber of Deputies: the law of August 15, 1936, for the creation of a Grain Office, and the law of August 20, 1936, on the indebtedness of the peasantry (as we indicated above, the latter law has been almost a complete failure).

This difference is to a considerable degree to be explained by the fact that the Senate is in no hurry to open or to conduct a debate on the question of peasant reforms. The experience of last year has once more proved that only the activity of the masses can influence the policy of the Chamber of Deputies.

The peasants have been unable to back up their demands by collective struggle. The fruits of their passivity can now be seen.

The Senate delayed by over one month any debate on the draft bill for the creation of a Grain Office, while this bill traveled no less than six times from one Chamber to the other. In addition the Senate only passed this bill after it had included in it an item of advantage to the traders but dangerous for the new body.

The Senate has not even begun the debate on the bill introduced last February about agreements covering selling prices for agricultural produce, the bill introduced in March extending to the sharecroppers the additional payments made to large families and, finally, the bill on the use of land introduced in May.

But the peasants are victims to the resistance not only of the Senate. In the Chamber of Deputies also not all the party groups are in any hurry to deal with the discussion of documents of interest to the peasants.

The delay in putting through these reforms is causing dissatisfaction among the mass of peasants.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS FIGHTING FOR PEASANT REFORMS

The Communist Party of France has always fought and still continues to fight with all its might for the satisfaction of the peasants' demands. Time and time again we, in the name of the Communist Party, have had to protest against the postponement of the debate and the voting on peasant reforms.

On May 8 we finished our query with the following words:

". . . I can assure the government that if the hopes of the Rights are justified, if these laws are not passed before the end of the session, a very dangerous political situation will arise in the villages.

"This being so I have a very simple question to put: what does the government intend to do to make both Chambers pass these laws during this present session and put them into operation in the near future?"

But Leon Blum, President of the last Council of Ministers, gave no reply to our question.

In March and June we managed to get the Deputies of the Left parties in the Chamber of Deputies to adopt the following resolution:

"The deputies of the Left parties request the government not to publish the decree to close down the session until both Chambers pass the reforms promised to the toilers of the fields [there follows an enumeration of these reforms]."

But the fact that the representatives of the political parties of the majority passed this resolution did not stop the campaign of the reactionaries to hasten the dissolution of Parliament for the vacations. Finally we decided to raise the question from the floor of the Chamber of Deputies on the day when the Chautemps government was presented to it.

However, the Communist Party of France does not for one moment forget that the decision of the question depends in the long run on the activity of the masses. This is why our Party has done everything within its power to urge the peasants to demand that their Deputies fulfil in the shortest possible time the obligations they have taken upon themselves. With this end in view the Party on July 4 held a "peasant day." The Party issued petition forms, sending them in tens of thousands of copies throughout the country; these petitions, signed by the peasants, will be handed to the President of the Council of Ministers. With the help of its Deputies, the Party called meetings of peasants on July 4 in sixty departments.

In their petitions and resolutions the peasants demanded that the Chamber of Deputies pass reforms before the closing of the session.

* * *

There can be no People's Front without the alliance of the proletariat and peasantry. But this alliance will be stable only if it provides definite advantage to both sides. The adoption and operation by Parliament of peasant reforms is a life-and-death question for the People's Front. By conducting the struggle for peasant reforms, the Communist Party of France is simultaneously defending the interests of the whole of the People's Front—the struggle for bread, liberty and peace.

The Political Strike of the Polish Peasantry

BY L. GORETSKY

THE ten-day political strike, between August 15 and 25, of the Polish peasantry was a tremendous event in the struggle of the Polish people against the fascist regime and at the same time a tremendous manifestation of the revolutionary movement of the masses of peasants not only in Poland, but also throughout the world.

The struggle of the peasant masses of Poland has continued for several years, now in a sullen form and now stormily breaking to the surface. It will be sufficient to call to mind the stormy peasant strikes against market dues, the insurgent movements of the Polish-Ukrainian peasants in 1930 and 1932, with the bloody "pacification" that followed, the struggle of the Polish peasants of Central Galicia in June, 1933, which covered more than ten counties and over 100,000 peasants, against the "sharwarks" (labor service), against the taxation robbery and floggings which repeatedly led to bloody conflicts, especially in Western Polish White Russia.

Extreme want, starvation and the weight of fascist oppression are urging the Polish peasants on to the path of struggle for land, liberty and peace, to the path of joint struggle with the working class.

The land hunger weighs down on the Polish peasants, who suffer from unbearable taxation, "sharwarks," debts, the high cost of industrial products, political disfranchisement and the arbitrary behavior of the police.

Three-quarters of the Polish peasants possess only tiny plots of land, on which they are incapable of securing a livelihood. There is also a large section of landless peasants who are only able to earn a miserable livelihood during the agricultural session. This year the conditions of the peasants have worsened in connection with the crop failure.

* * *

In spite of all the efforts of the fascist government to crush the peasant movement by acts of repression and bloody punishment or to bribe it by making small concessions (Ponyadovsky, the Minister of Agrarian Reforms, is considered a specialist in this respect), a new rise of the movement has been observed since last year, an increasingly open and conscious struggle on the part of millions of peasants against the government of the so-called "Sanator" regime as a whole.

The efforts of the "Endeks" (National Democrats, the Right opposition toward the present government), and of a section of the "Sanators" to incite the dissatisfaction of the peasants against the urban Jewish poor proved to be fruitless.

The year 1936 was a year of stormy action by the working class and the peasants of Poland. Cracow and Lwow were the scenes of revolutionary strikes accompanied by barricade fighting. In a number of localities, in the Cracow and Lublin provinces, strikes of agricultural workers and peasants took place which were mercilessly crushed by the police. Last year also a tremendous peasant demonstration took place in Novoseltsi (Galicia). The immediate grounds for this demonstration

were the patriotic festivities on the occasion of the dedication of a memorial by Rydz-Smigly in honor of the defeat of the Tartars by the Polish peasants. The 200,000 peasants who gathered together presented the Polish "Fuehrer" with the demand that the fascist constitution be abolished, that liberty and general elections be established, that Witos, the leader of the Popular Party, be allowed to return (Witos was condemned in Poland to imprisonment and is now living in Czechoslovakia), and that the country's foreign policy be changed.

In the spring of this year, the leadership of the "Stronnitstwo Ludowe" (Popular Party), which is the decisive political force in the Polish village, decided to call a peasant congress to meet in Ratzlawiczi on April 18 to celebrate the anniversary of the 1894 conflict (the conflict, in which peasant volunteers took part, between Polish insurgents and the tsarist army). The government of General Slawoi Skladkowski prohibited this demonstration at the last moment when the peasants were already gathered together. Fighting between the peasants who had gathered and the fascist police lasted two days, and as a result two peasants were killed (one of them a member of the Communist Party of Poland), six severely wounded (the number of those who were slightly wounded has not been established, since the peasants hid the wounded from the police), and several hundred peasants were arrested, of whom sixty were sent to trial. Forty-five policemen were wounded.

The bloody treatment of the peasants at Ratzlawiczi failed to hold back the further development of the peasant liberation movement. The hunger, want and unemployment which reign in the Polish village, and the hatred of the fascist oppression and landlord domination are urging the peasant masses to the path of common struggle with the workers to secure the overthrow of the fascist regime. Even the moderate leaders of the "Stronnitstwo Ludowe" (ex-Marshal Patai and Professor Cot) have been compelled to reckon with these sentiments of the masses.

On May First, entire branches of the Popular Party in various parts of Poland took part with their green peasant banners in the May marches of the workers. May 16 saw a "green" peasant holiday which also bore the character of a mass anti-fascist demonstration in which hundreds of thousands of peasants and thousands of workers took part.

The so-called "Day of the Peasant Cause," August 15, assumed a still more mass character and, in this case as in the case of the Novoseltski and Ratzlawiczi celebrations, the patriotic celebrations became transformed into a peasant demonstration. On August 15, official Poland celebrated the anniversary of the Warsaw conflict of 1920. In July of that year, the Sejm unanimously endorsed a radical Agrarian Reform which has never been operated. For the peasants, August 15 is a day when they were deceived, when they were driven into battle with the promise of land and liberty. The August 15 demonstration for the peasant is a protest against deception, against the disfranchised position of the peasant in the Polish bourgeois state.

Last year already when the "Day of the Peasant Cause" was for the first time celebrated on the initiative of the Popular Party, it became clear that this demonstration was in the nature of a protest. This year, as last year, about a million and a half peasants took part in the "Day of the Peasant Cause" celebrations.

After a number of tremendous mass demonstrations, the peasant masses began to appreciate the need for more active struggle. "Enough of meetings, it is time to take action"; "on the 'Day of the Peasant Cause' we want real peasant action"—such were the cries which began to spread among the masses of peasants. In vain did General Rydz-Smigly in his speech at the annual congress of legionaires, which took place in the early days of August, threaten that "the government will maintain order in the country with a firm, iron and implacable hand."

Under the pressure of the masses, the leaders of the Popular Party declared a ten-day peasant strike, in connection

with which the Popular Party issued the following line: "During the strike days the peasants should not go to town, should make neither purchases nor sales, and only do what is absolutely necessary on their farms."

What were the slogans of the strike?

"In our resolution," stated the 'Stronnitstwo Ludowe' manifesto, "we have made the following demands on national holidays, the anniversary of the 'Peasant Cause' and at meetings and demonstrations:

"The ending of the 'fraternal' trial (the trial of a number of leaders of the Polish Socialist Party and the 'Stronnitstwo Ludowe' arrested in autumn, 1930, and kept in the Brest fortress) and the restoration of all rights to the former 'fraternal' prisoners headed by Witos;

"The alteration of the Constitution and the regulations for the elections to Parliament and the municipalities;

"The disbandment of the Sejm, Senate, and municipal councils;

"The introduction of a democratic system in Poland and the institution of new genuine elections to state institutions and municipalities;

"The abolition of the dictatorial and bureaucratic regime;

"The institution of a government which has the confidence of wide masses of citizens;

"Justice in the courts;

"Alteration of the country's foreign policy;

"The establishment of an army ready to defend the country and enjoying the respect of all citizens;

"Suitable prices for agricultural products and just payment for labor;

"A just division of social wealth; rights, bread and labor for all."

In a few of the hazy formulations in this manifesto there can be noted the striving of the Right leaders of the "Stronnitswo Ludowe," who draw their support from the kulak upper section, to efface the precise and radical slogans of the peasants. But even through this smokescreen there can be felt the revolutionary urge of the peasants and the challenge hurled at the fascist regime.

The influence of the Right leaders was also manifest in the fact that the national and border regions of Poland, such as West Ukraine, the Vilna District, the Coastal region and upper Silesia were excluded from the strike, the Right leaders fearing to call the Polish Ukrainian and White Russian peasants into the common struggle and to extend it to Upper Silesia and the Coastal region.

The communique published by the government makes the assertion that the strike assumed serious bounds only in a few counties of the Cracow province, in the western part of the Lwow province and in two countries of the Tarnopol province.

But all these data are clearly understated for, in fact, almost the whole of Poland was covered by the peasant strike.

Of the regions which were excluded in advance from the strike by the Popular Party leaders, the movement failed to penetrate only into the Coastal region, and penetrated White Russia (Byelostok, Grodno) only slightly, but penetrated Polish Western Ukraine to a serious degree. Even the lying statement of the government mentioned the Tarnopol region.

The strike wave spread far beyond the bounds outlined by the Popular Party leaders.

It would be premature to make any statistical calculations on the basis of the fragmentary data to hand. We do not yet know how many million peasants took part in the movement. But we do know already that *many millions* of peasants struck against fascism. This is a historical and political fact of considerable importance.

* * *

What tactics did the Government employ toward the peasant strike, It would have been a risky affair to have hurled the forces of the police against the peasant masses who came into the movement. Even such a die-hard as the Polish Prime Minister, General Slawoi-Skladkowski understood this, and so he decided to strike at the chief center of the movement. "The political authorities," declared a government report of August 26, "have issued orders that special attention be paid to the two provinces of Cracow and Lwow." The "special at-

tention" was expressed in the fact that police units were drawn there from all parts of Poland, and primarily from the non-striking region of Upper Silesia.

The reply of the fascist government to the peaceful demonstration, whose dimensions, however, were so full of menace, was bloody repression. According to the incomplete and fragmentary data which have penetrated into the press, the police fired on the peasants in the counties of Bokhnya, Bzesko and Limanow, Cracow province; and Buchach county, Tarnopol province. According to the Government report of August 30, the total results of the Government's measures were 41 killed and 34 registered wounded, but the reports state that the number of wounded is far from complete since many wounded peasants "are hiding in forests and secluded peasant huts." There is information to hand that there are hundreds of wounded in hiding, and not only wounded, for in some places, as for instance in the Bzhozow county, entire villages of peasants hid in the forests at the approach of the police.

The Government reports try to justify the bandit action of the police gangs by stating that the peasants employed "violence" against strikebreakers. What is this violence which allegedly compelled General Skladkowski to undertake a military drive against the peasants?

Who suffered from this violence? The government report merely speaks of the "killing" (just listen!) of several "beasts of burden belonging to persons not in sympathy with the strike." (Those are the very words!)

How tender are General Skladkowski's feelings toward animals! But the General did not spare human life, for his hands are reeking with the blood of Polish and Ukrainian peasants.

The official report states that the striking peasants drew up barricades, pulled down bridges and cut telegraph wires. It is quite clear that these "acts of violence" were exclusively measures of self-defense undertaken by the peasants against the punitive expeditions of the police. Barricades are not built against strikebreakers, nor are telegraph wires cut in order to hold up peasants' carts.

In spite of the human and material losses the peasants refuse to allow themselves to be scared. It was precisely in the counties where the police were rife that the strike continued for several days after August 25.

* * *

How did the working class react to the August strike of the peasants?

The peasant strike coincided with a moment of high tension of the working class struggle. A number of strikes in the textile industry in Lwow, Zlezh and Bialystok, the struggle of the miners for increased wages and a similar struggle in the metal industry helped to mobilize the forces of the people. The identity of the basic demands of the workers and peasants (free and general elections, the abolition of the "April," *i.e.*, fascist constitution, the abolition of the fascist regime, the demand for a government enjoying the confidence of the masses of people, for a peace policy and for an end to the alliance with Hitler, etc.) raised the peasant strike to the level of a struggle for the demands of the whole people. The peasants counted on the support of the towns. The manifesto of the "Stronnistwo Ludowe" quoted above stated: "Appeal for collaboration and help to the other sections of the population, especially to the workers."

The working class responded. On August 25 a one-day solidarity strike spread throughout the whole of Western Galicia (Cracow, Tarnow, Bokhnya, Welichka, etc.). In Cracow, not only were the factories involved in the strike, but so also were the tramways, taxis, and even trading enterprises. The same sort of thing was to be observed in other west Galician towns where the strike extended to include even small shopkeepers. The representatives of various political trends, including even the editor of a left "Pilsudski" paper, spoke at a meeting of 20,000 people in Cracow. In former Russian Poland, complete or partial solidarity strikes took place in Keltse, Lodz and Bialystok. As a result,

as many as 250,000 workers took part in the solidarity strike. Thus August 25 became a day of a general political strike of the workers and peasants against the fascist regime in Poland, against its domestic and foreign policy, a day when the People's Front of struggle against fascism was established, even though it did not assume definite organizational shape.

But did the extent of the workers' strike correspond to the tremendous dimensions of the peasant movement? It must be said that it did not, since, according to the news so far to hand, such political centers as Warsaw and Lwow, such working class regions as the Dombrow and Upper Silesian coal basins did not take part in the strike.

The Communist Party, together with the Young Communist League of Poland, issued the call for a general strike throughout the country in support of the fighting peasants, but the Polish Socialist Party leaders pursued another line; for they only carried through the strike in the towns situated in the main zone of the peasant movement and where the workers were especially caught up in a wave of solidarity with the struggle of the peasants. In other centers, however, they withheld the workers from the strike.

Thus, in Lwow, a delegation of the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.), and of the P.P.S. trade union leaders made the proposal to Governor Bilyk that the Governor should resist any increase in the cost of food since otherwise "a struggle for increased wages must be foreseen, which in view of the developing events would inevitably assume a political character" (from a statement of the delegation), and asked the Governor not to send anyone to the concentration camp in Bereza-Kartuska for participating in the strike. The Governor took note of the wishes expressed and hastened to assure the delegates that none of the arrested in his province would be sent to Bereza since they had all been handed over to the judicial authorities.

The members of the delegation were satisfied with this reply, since all they apparently needed was an excuse to stifle the growing solidarity movement of the workers of Lwow.

Although the waverings and maneuvers of the opportunist leaders prevented the powerful mass movement from developing to the full, the August strike of millions of peasants and of hundreds of thousands of workers compelled the representatives of fascism to start talking about a change in the existing reactionary regulations for the elections to the Sejm and Senate.

It is not so long ago since Polish fascism strove to bring about, even though gradually, the "totalitarian" regime, to create a single monopolist party, and monopolist corporations in place of the trade unions, etc. It is not so long ago since the fascist election regulations were considered to be the stable and inviolable basis of the existing regime. The wave of popular indignation has beaten off the fascist offensive and compelled the government camp to promise concessions to the people.

These promises made by various representatives of the government mean nothing other than an attempt to lull the peasant masses, to mislead them. But the peasants in Poland will hardly allow themselves to be deceived by promises. In any case, the progressive elements among them are already quite well aware that the success depends entirely on the further struggle for the united People's Front, on the further exertion of pressure by the masses, on united action by the forces of the people fighting for liberty, peace and for the overthrow of the fascist system.

Unity of the Youth—A Mighty Weapon in the Struggle Against Fascism

EXPERIENCES OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE SPANISH YOUTH

BY M. FEDERICO

THE Spanish United Socialist League of Youth originated in the year 1936 as a result of the organizational fusion of the Socialist and Communist Leagues of Youth. The United League, which already has half a million members, possesses all the necessary conditions for drawing the whole of the advanced and progressive young generation of the country into its ranks.

The Republican, nationalist and non-party youth, as well as the huge majority of the Anarchist youth, support the idea of setting up a "National Youth Alliance," an idea put forward by the United Socialist League of Youth at its national conference in the beginning of January, 1937. In Madrid, Murcia, Almeria, Jaen, Albacete, Granada and Cuidad Real, the youth of all tendencies have united for joint struggle against fascism.

Unity among the youth of Spain is one of the guarantees of the victory of the people. Fascism is striving to smash this unity, to deprive the United Socialist Youth of its role as leader of the whole of the toiling youth of the land. The Trotskyist agents of Franco, Hitler and Mussolini, at the dictates of their fascist masters, are trying to undermine the unity of the Spanish youth. They hide behind pseudo-revolutionary phrases, resort to demagogy and provocation, and try to crush the Spanish youth front and even to cause internal strife among the United Socialist Youth, in order to weaken it. They tried to penetrate into the ranks of the Anarchist youth and even to worm their way into different posts in the United Socialist League of Youth. Some of their plans met with success, for in some places they were able for a short time to separate the young Anarchists from the National Youth Alliance and to mislead an extremely small group of the United Socialist Youth in Valencia.

But the Spanish youth have been able to defeat the Trotskyist-fascist traitors. "We shall preserve unity like the apple of our eye!" declared Arconada, Secretary of the Madrid organization of the United Socialist Youth. And this slogan has been carried out. The strong, powerful United Socialist League of Youth continues rapidly to fulfil its task of rallying the fighting forces of all the Spanish youth.

Youth unity is a reality already. This unity is being established at the front and behind the lines, in the factories, in villages, in the struggle for culture; gradually it is being established on the international arena as well, casting aside all obstacles in the way.

UNITY AT THE FRONTS

From the outset of the military-fascist rebellion, the United Socialist League of Youth organized its battalions and regiments of the people's militia in Andalusia, Valencia, Catalonia, Asturias, Biscay, Estremadura and Madrid, which have been fighting bravely on all fronts. These battalions were made up not only

of young Socialists, but also of young Anarchists, Republicans and youth belonging to no parties. During the first months of fighting, 35 per cent of the members of the United Socialist League of Youth were in the League battalions. Now, after the reorganization of these battalions into units of the United People's Army, as many as 85 per cent of League members are in them, which is a clear illustration of the growth of the influence and prestige of the League. There are also many young women in the youth battalions who are fearlessly doing their duty.

Out of inexperienced fighters—workers, peasants and students—there have grown up experienced army commanders, chiefs of staff and military technicians. Out of the ranks of the militia there have appeared popular heroes who arouse admiration and respect throughout the world. But the best achievement of these battalions and regiments of the people's militia during the year of warfare is the splendid, fraternal unity of the youth at the fronts, which has facilitated the consolidation of unity among the youth behind the lines. At the last regional congress of the Castilian Anarchist youth, men from the front said:

"If those who are against unity behind the lines were to go to the trenches, and they were to take our places behind the lines, unity would immediately be achieved."

The heroism of the young Spaniards fighting on the front disregard ideological and organizational differences. All are fighting with equal enthusiasm, because they all hate fascism.

How much heroism has been displayed by the youth! Here are a few examples:

Ela Castellanos, a thirteen-year-old boy, set out for the Sierra Guadarrama front. For his courage, the heroic commander Campesino promoted him to the rank of sergeant. Once, the order was given to occupy the rebel trenches. Fifty men set out to carry out the task, but only twelve returned, led by Ela Castellanos. The same night the lad was promoted to the rank of lieutenant. He has now joined the United Socialist League of Youth.

A short time ago, Jose Mora, a young Anarchist, captain of a battalion fighting in Andalusia died a hero's death. The enemy, who technically were tremendously powerful, were pressing hard against the Republican positions near Villarta. When the Republican fighters began to retreat, Mora rushed forward and urged the retreating men forward. He perished from an enemy bullet, but the fighters of the people's army maintained their positions.

Augusto, member of the United Socialist League of Youth, is commander of the "Alicante Rojo" battalion. When the Italian fascist troops undertook the offensive near Guadalajara, Augusto dislocated three light tanks with hand grenades. Although wounded in the shoulder, he continued to fight until he had used all his bullets. . . . Then, realizing the unavoidable danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, Augusto, singing the *International*, threw himself into the abyss. . . .

How many similar heroic feats have been performed by young Spaniards, thus inspiring the youth of all political shades to fight against fascism!

The January Conference of the Socialist Youth in Valencia put forward among other tasks for the youth that of providing the men at the front with cultural rest periods and political training. The League took the initiative in organizing throughout Spain "Soldiers' Clubs." And now there are numerous such clubs both at the front and behind the lines. The fighters of the People's Army have now recreation rooms, gymnasium halls, libraries and medical treatment stations. Reports and lectures are delivered in the clubs dealing with military, cultural, technical and political questions. Groups of artists organize the production of plays, etc., in these clubs, which are almost exclusively run by young women. The work of the clubs provides the men and their commanders with technical and political knowledge close to the line of fire. The clubs help to establish close friendship between the men and the commanders of the People's Army.

At the initiative of the United Socialist League of Youth, "Alarm" schools have been organized in which young people between the ages of fourteen and eighteen go through a preliminary military training. Over seventy such schools are functioning at the present time, attended by young people of both sexes, irrespective of their political views. Besides obtaining military training, they engage in physical culture, participate in circles which provide general education and training in the arts. The fact that the government of the People's Front is at present examining the question of recognizing the "Alarm" movement as the only organization for providing the youth with preliminary military training says much for its importance.

UNITY OF THE FACTORIES AND IN THE VILLAGES

Expressing the sentiments of all young Spaniards, the United Socialist Youth has set about drawing all the youth into work behind the lines necessary to ensure victory. In the main, the youth have realized the need to increase production and raise the productivity of labor. Members of the United Socialist League of Youth, as well as Anarchist, Republican and non-party youth, are joining shock brigades, united by the common desire to crush fascism. This movement, born among the youth and inspired by the Communist Party of Spain, has now been taken up by many workers.

In Madrid there is a Stakhanov brigade to be found with an historic history behind it. Garcia Izquierdo, a Communist engineer, and a number of young people possessed only one rifle among them. They began, from the very first days of the war, to give military training to workers setting out for the front. Gradually young Spaniards of different political trends, almost all mechanics and metal workers, began to join the Izquierdo group. Once they set out in military formation to a factory, and when, at six o'clock in the evening, the workers employed there left off, the group took their places and worked through the night till eight o'clock the next morning. During the first night they turned out 12,000 rifle bullets, and in fifteen days' time were turning out 45,000 bullets each per shift. Later, during the siege of Madrid, they stationed themselves in a house not far from the line of fire, and quickly converted it into a military workshop. On one occasion they heard that our men had been so hard pressed by the enemy that they had been forced to leave the factory, which proved to be on the territory between both lines of fire, in no-man's land. The factory had to be saved, and so, in the night, the "Stakhanovites" of the Izquierdo group, under cover of fire of the Republican infantry, made their way to the abandoned building, dismantled the machines and dragged them back with ropes to our side.

The United Socialist Youth, the Anarchist and Republican youth already have their own Stakhanov workers who turn out more than the established quota. Urbano Mozes, a young metal worker and the first Stakhanov worker in Madrid, used to turn out 205 parts in six hours' work; on one occasion he turned out 790 and ever since that day his daily output has been 700 parts. Maria de Frutos, a women employee in a clothing works in Puente de Vallecas, turns out forty pairs of shorts a day. Blas Eros, a woman employed in the same factory, increased her output to fifty-eight pieces of linen per day. Alejandro Gonzales, a member of the Anarchist Youth League, instead of the quota of 200 units a day, has increased his output to 1,200. Pilar Fuentes, a young Republican, instead of the standard quota of 150, has an output of 240 and more leather caps, in four hours. The best of the young workers are engaged on war work over and above the established working day. By their labor and enthusiasm the young people are assisting in obtaining an unprecedented increase in the productivity of labor.

The United Socialist League of Youth of Spain is also the initiator of the workers' clubs where young workers discuss questions of production, arrange reports, organize libraries, publish their own wall newspapers in which shortcomings in the work are criticized and

problems of interest to the youth are raised. In the process of this work, unity is being forged among the youth in the factories; at the same time the young workers raise their cultural level and assist in increasing output.

The masses of young peasants are undoubtedly anti-fascist, but in political development and organization they are far behind the youth of the towns. Consequently, the United Socialist League of Youth has set itself the task of increasing its work in the villages. And it must be said that the League has achieved great success in this work. The peasant youth today constitutes the majority of the men in the People's Army. The entire membership of the United Socialist Youth was organized to fulfil two main slogans: "Set up a peasant youth club in every village" and "Organize hundreds of agricultural aid brigades." Now there is hardly a village in the Spanish Republic which does not possess a peasant youth club. In these clubs the young people organize libraries, recreation, theatrical performances, meetings, concerts, schools for literacy and short-term agricultural courses, where all the peasant youth can be found—irrespective of their political persuasions. As a result of this work, it has proved possible to forge unity on a solid basis among the young peasants, so that now they are all working with great enthusiasm.

The initiators of the "Agricultural Aid Brigade" have been, in the majority of cases, young workers and students from the towns, as well as the men of the People's Army, who have used every free day they had to go to the villages to help the peasants in the fields. On June 20 forty brigades, including fifteen brigades of the United Socialist Youth, set out from Valencia for the villages.

The peasant youth also organize brigades which go to the assistance of peasants in neighboring villages, after the work in the fields is finished in their own villages. Moreover, brigades cultivate the fields abandoned by their owners, and help to carry out public works. A close friendship has sprung up among the young workers, fighters and young peasants.

Whereas fascism destroys all cultural values, leaves children without schools, and murders prominent national poets like Frederico Garcia Lorca, and prominent professors like Leopoldo Alas, the young people of the Spanish Republic are uniting to spread culture by opening up new vistas of culture before the young generation. All students are organized into the Federal Alliance of Spanish Youth. Besides the fact that they have given the Republican Army national heroes like Major Jimenes Carrasco and Captain Manuel Marcan, Cartero, Lopez and many others, they have organized a "People's University" in which the most talented students teach the workers. The work of the People's University has turned out to be so useful that the Minister of National Education, Jesus Hernandez, has endowed that institution with an official character by providing it with material and moral support. The students have established a "University Theater" in which young actors are trained. These actors travel from the front lines to the most far-distant villages in the rear and produce the best national plays.

The teachers are not behind the students. The Ministry of National Education has organized brigades known as "Cultural Militia" to eliminate illiteracy among the men in the army. These brigades, in the majority of cases, consist of young teachers—Anarchists, Republicans, members of the United Socialist League of Youth and people belonging to no political party. At the present time there are about 1,000 in these brigades.

Schools for the men at the front have also been set up in the trenches, while in a number of cases there are four to five schools to one teacher. In three months the number of illiterates in the People's Army dropped by 60 per cent. The people working in the Cultural Militia are at the same time in the army. When a battle begins they take up their rifles, and when there is a lull they teach their comrades. One young teacher, a member of the United Socialist League of Youth, was unable to organize schools

on the Grenada front because of the lack of textbooks, etc. Not far off, between our trenches and those of the enemy, there was an abandoned village where the necessary materials were to be obtained. The young teacher agreed with the military command, and in the night set out in company with a number of cavalrymen. The material obtained from the village was found to be sufficient to organize four schools, which are now functioning on that section of the front.

FOR UNITY OF THE YOUTH THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Our unity—unity of the Spanish people, unity of the Spanish youth—is the best weapon in the struggle against fascism!

We young Spaniards are fighting beyond the confines of our country as well, in order to secure youth unity—unity which can save both the young generation of the whole world and ourselves from the horrors of fascism. For the sake of this aim we, the United Socialist Youth of Spain, have renewed our membership with the Social Youth International. Our Comrade Carillo, Secretary of the Central Committee of the United Socialist League of Youth, has clearly described our aim as follows:

"We are once more giving proof of the consistency with which we are fighting for unity and say that the Communist Youth International stands firmly in favor of unity. There is no need to tell the Young Communist International of the need to set up a united Youth International. The Socialist Youth International, however, is not entirely in favor of unity, while a pretty considerable part of it is backward in this respect. Therefore, the United Socialist Youth of Spain intends to conduct a struggle inside the Young Socialist International to persuade all its sections and lead them on to the road of unity with the Communist Youth International." (*Aura*, Madrid newspaper, May 3, 1937.)

The Spanish students have worked in this spirit to obtain unity between the international organizations of the Socialist and Communist students. The Spanish students greeted with satisfaction the news that this year an International Student Alliance of struggle for socialism was set up at the Paris Congress held in July. Comrade Munos Suai, the representative of the Spanish students in that alliance, is carrying on a most energetic struggle to obtain unity not only between the Socialist and Communist students, but among all non-fascist students of the world.

Our struggle is not our private affair; it is the "affair of the *whole of advanced and progressive mankind*," said Comrade Stalin. Many young Spaniards have fallen on our soil; but young people from other countries have also done so, including young Republicans, young Catholics, young Socialists and young Communists of various countries. On our soil, such beloved leaders of the youth have laid down their lives as Ernest Hekman, member of the Central Committee of the German Youth Communist League; Jordano Viezzoli, member of the leadership of the Youth Socialist League of Italy, and Pierre Brache, a prominent young Socialist from Belgium. All have fallen in the common struggle against fascism. Therefore the youth of Spain who are in receipt of the noble-hearted support of the Soviet youth, who also receive aid from the workers and democratic youth of the whole world, stand guard over their interests and say to them: *the help we need most of all is your unity*, unity of action to defeat fascism.

Unite as we have united, and fascism will be conquered!

Some Problems of the Youth Movement in the U. S. A.

BY GIL GREEN

THE past three years have witnessed the emergence in the U.S.A. of a great progressive youth movement. Continuous have been its expansion and development ever since the defeat of a handful of reactionary leaders at the First American Youth Congress in August, 1934.

Not only is this to be seen in the growth of the American Youth Congress itself, but in the activity of other similar united front bodies such as the "Christian Youth Building a New World," which united seventy-two denominations of Protestant youth; the United Student Peace Committee, which includes the largest and most influential national student organizations; and the Southern Negro Youth Congress, which represents 250,000 Negro youth.

An example of the strength and influence of the progressive youth movement is to be seen in the annual student peace strike, which in 1937 involved approximately a million students. It is also to be seen in the nationwide pilgrimage to Washington of 3,500 young people in behalf of the American Youth Act (a legislative measure calling for the appropriation of $500,000,000 to provide jobs for unemployed youth and to give aid to needy students).

Many important concessions have been won for the youth through the existence and united activity of this movement. Outstanding of these was the creation in 1935 of a special government department to treat the needs of youth (the National Youth Administration), and the allocation of $50,000,000 in 1935, $72,000,000 in 1936 and $75,000,000 in 1937 for youth aid.

Another step in the direction of the unification of the youth movement was taken at the Fourth Annual American Youth Congress which took place July 2-4, in the city of Milwaukee. At this congress the representatives of the "Christian Youth Building a New World" movement for the first time took an active part in and identified themselves with the American Youth Congress.

Thus the two most important progressive youth movements, the American Youth Congress and the "Christian Youth Building a New World," have now joined forces.

Of great significance also was the participation for the first time of certain Catholic organizations, of the Boy Scouts, and of a number of the most important farm organizations. The American Youth Congress is therefore fast becoming the all-embracing progressive center for the collaboration of America's youth organizations.

This was recognized by President Roosevelt who, in his letter of greetings to the Congress, wrote:

"It is indeed gratifying to see in this Congress still another evidence of the growing interest which young people are showing in the affairs of government. . . . The problems and the opportunities which we face as a nation are numerous,

varied and challenging. This is no time for complacency or indifference; it is a time when vigorous and intelligent participation in the solution of our common problems is needed from every citizen of our democracy. The American Youth Congress has become an important instrument in achieving this end, and, as such, has the good will and best wishes of all who are concerned with the future of American democracy."

What we have dealt with thus far is the postive side of the picture. But there is also a negative side. It would be a serious mistake to fail to see this. How is it expressed? It is expressed in the fact that with the growth of the broad youth movement, there has not taken place a corresponding growth of the organized anti-fascist and class-conscious youth forces, and in the first place, of the Young Communist League. Of course, the Y.C.L. has played an active and important part in the building of this youth movement. It has established close fraternal relations with the large progressive organizations of youth. Its influence and prestige have risen rapidly. Its friends are many. But its organizational growth does not correspond to this growing influence and present tasks.

We stress this fact because the achievements of the mass youth movement can only be consolidated if the anti-fascist and class-conscious youth, and above all the working class youth, are organized and united.

Sometimes we fail to see the importance of this. We permit ourselves to be led astray by imposing, but nevertheless misleading, figures, thereby unconsciously underestimating the danger of reaction among the youth.

The young generation does not constitute a homogeneous mass; it is made up of young people from all classes of society. Therefore, it is natural that the economic conditions of these classes and the various ideological currents at work within them find their reflection in one form or another among the youth.

While we wish to emphasize the *common* ties that bind youth as a *generation*, while we wish to point out the common character of their problems which arise from the present state of capitalism, these can best be accomplished by paying close attention to the *concrete conditions* and *concrete problems* facing various social strata and groups of the youth. "The general program must be linked up with the concrete problems of particular groups." (Comrade Browder at June Party plenum.) It is especially important to emphasize this since reaction has a degree of influence and under certain conditions may succeed in establishing for itself a mass base among the youth.

Despite the fact that the economic revival has drawn millions of additional young workers into industry, a considerable section of the youth, generally estimated as totaling from four to five million, remain jobless. The new feature in this situation is that while formerly, during the crisis, the bulk of the young unemployed was made up of those first entering the labor market, today it is mainly composed of those who left school some years back.

In a recent speech Mr. Aubrey Williams, the director of the National Youth Administration, admitted that: "Millions of those now out of jobs will never find jobs again." Many of these young people, isolated from the industrial process, losing hope and often even desire to work, become demoralized, lost their class ties and gradually become declassed. It is this which explains the relatively larger percentage of crime among young people; the fact that the largest single number of arrests is to be found in the twenty-one-year-old age group.

Here is a stratum which if not given special attention, will be bought by the highest bidder. And it is no accident that the "vigilante" gangs recently used against labor were in part composed of such youth.

A second source of danger is the continued control of the Citizens' Conservation Corps (the C.C.C. camps) by the army. The establishment of these camps by the Roosevelt administration serves the purpose of taking a portion of the unemployed youth off the city streets and giving them constructive labor. But can we ignore the fact that these camps are

completely under the supervision of the army, among the personnel of which there have been repeated indications of strong reactionary influences? Many of the leading army officers are anti-labor and even anti-Roosevelt in their political views. The control that these reactionary officials wield over the camps is to be seen in the banning from the camps of pro-labor publications, such as *The Champion of Youth.*

It is therefore not surprising that the arch-reactionaries, who have not hesitated to attack mercilessly every relief measure proposed by Roosevelt, have nevertheless refrained from as much as criticizing the establishment or continued existence of the C.C.C. camps.

Let us point further to the Catholic problem. While it is undoubtedly true that large masses of Catholic young workers have actively participated in the recent strike struggles and are proud members of the new industrial unions, and while it is also true that a section of the Catholic youth is learning the lessons of Germany and Spain and is coming closer to such movements as the American Youth Congress, it must, however, be recorded that the *major* influence among these youth is, if not reactionary, at any rate conservative. The Catholic Church and its parochial schools wield their harmful influence, and the recent tirades of the Pope against communism are undoubtedly poisoning the minds of these youth.

It should also not be forgotten that a large percentage of the Catholic youth are second generation Americans, that is, the sons and daughters of immigrant parents. These, contrary to common belief, are often more influenced by the nationalism of their "homelands" than is the immigrant generation.

European fascism, and first of all Italy and Germany, conduct systematic widespread propaganda among "their" youth in the United States. One need only recall the intense wave of nationalism and chauvinism which swept over the Italian-American youth during the Ethiopian war.

Let us take the middle class youth. The main currents at work among this stratum are progressive ones. Yet here also we can note certain new tendencies which show a decided increase in reactionary activity and influence.

A rebirth of certain pre-crisis illusions is discernable in the ranks of the student youth. During the period of economic crisis and depression, old illusions of American opportunity and prosperity were rudely shattered. But with the setting in of economic recovery, we find that especially among the newer students and undergraduates there is to be seen "a return of confidence" and a belief that by the time they graduate all will be well and opportunity will once again knock at their doors.

These young people are influenced by the argument that "labor is demanding more than its share," that "Roosevelt is hindering prosperity," etc. They are also frightened by the reactionary cries of "Roosevelt dictatorship" and directly affected by the constant rise in prices which many of them believe is due to labor's drive for unionization, higher wages and shorter hours. It is precisely among these youth that the latest appeals of the reactionaries find the greatest echo.

The rise and fall in the recent period of such organizations as the "Veterans of Future Wars" (an organization satirizing the demand of the war veterans and unemployed for government aid), the "Franklin Roosevelt for King" Clubs (satirizing the attempts of Roosevelt to curb the Supreme Court), must not be mistaken as merely student pranks. They reflect a dangerous reactionary cynicism toward the daily striving of the broad progressive masses. We should also not forget that during the elections the reactionary Liberty League established a considerable number of branches in the colleges and these were not only composed of bourgeois students.

Reaction not only has a direct but also an indirect influence on the unstable youth. Thus reaction makes use for its own purposes of the pacifist illusions among the youth which in recent months have been turned in the direction of support for America's policy of isolation, a policy which in the present world situ-

ation can give aid only to the fascist aggressors. Even in the progressive student peace movement this policy, especially as expressed toward Spain, has considerable support.

Furthermore, the Trotskyist fascists conduct systematic activity especially among the student youth, and their counter-revolutionary propaganda is peddled wholesale by the reactionary press of the country. While these enemies of the working class and the progressive movement are isolated from the broad masses of the youth, one should not underestimate the harm they can accomplish through the use of the bourgeois press and behind the cloak of "Left" phrases and membership in the Young People's Socialist League.

These developments offer food for thought, not only for our student comrades, but for all anti-fascist youth. Why? Because their repercussions extend further than the school campus. When we make a study of the large mass youth organizations, we find that the leadership of these is to a considerable degree middle class and student in composition.

Among the farm youth the progressive movement is exceptionally weak at a time when the reactionaries are demagogically utilizing the rising cost of industrial products and the Roosevelt crop reduction program to influence these rural young people against labor and the "New Deal."

It is also necessary to add that a considerable percentage of Negro youth is becoming declassed due to specially severe economic and social discrimination and that the white youth of the South are still in large numbers outside of the progressive movement; and last but not least that the adult boards which control the finances of many of the mass organizations of youth come frequently into collision with the membership and functionaries of these organizations.

There is no room for complacency in our youth work. True, democratic tradition is deeply rooted in America's youth and progressive influence is dominant in its ranks. The working class, although still divided, "is beginning to emerge as a conscious and organized force," and is thus more capable of rallying around itself "natural allies among the toiling farmers, the Negroes and the middle classes of the cities" in a mighty People's Front movement.

But if the great progressive youth movement is to be further extended and consolidated, if reactionary influence and activity are to be defeated in the ranks of the youth, it is necessary rapidly and radically to *organize* and *unite* the anti-fascist youth, to strengthen their class understanding and to help them master Marxist-Leninist theory.

This is the main task placed before the Party youth forces by the recent Party plenum and in particular by Comrades Browder and Foster.

The Eighth National Convention of the American Young Communist League placed main emphasis on this task. It called for the more rapid transformation of the Y.C.L. into a mass anti-fascist youth organization. It called for flexible methods of approach to correspond to the specific features of different sections of the country and different strata of youth. It urged that special attention be given to the youth by organized labor, especially by the C.I.O. It called for the building not only of the Y.C.L. itself, but of all sorts of independent anti-fascist organizations of young people.

In this manner we must aim at increasing the present 55,000 young people to be found in the anti-fascist youth organizations into a force of hundreds of thousands of working class, toiling and student youth.

If this is accomplished, a most stable guarantee will exist for winning the millions of America's youth for the developing People's Front movement, for the struggle against reaction, fascism and war, for democracy and progress, and for drawing them closer to our Party and its Marxist-Leninist principles.

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